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WILLIAM CAREY.

BY

JAMES CULROSS, D.D.,

AUTHOR OF

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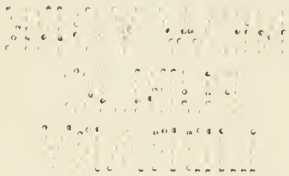

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BOOKS made use of in drawing up this account of Carey's life :— Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society ; Sermon (with appendix), by Christopher Anderson ; Memoir, by Eustace Carey ; Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, by J. C. Marshman ; Life of John Thomas, and numerous articles in the *Oriental Baptist*, by C. B. Lewis ; Brown's History of Missions ; Hough's Christianity in India ; Kaye's History of Christianity in India ; Sherring's Protestant Missions in India ; Life of Dr. Duff, and The Canterbury of North India (*Sunday Magazine*, 1874), by Dr. George Smith ; Hunter's Statistical Account, and Rural Annals of Bengal, etc.

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CHAPTER I.

PAULERSPURY is the name of a village lying on the south side of the old Roman road known as Watling Street, three miles or thereby from the market-town of Towcester, county of Northampton. It is the Pavelis Pery of Camden, and derives its name from the Paveleys (or Peverels), its ancient lords. The neighbourhood, without being picturesque, is pleasing, and occasionally the wayfarer comes upon "bits" of unpretending beauty.

A hundred years ago, Whittlebury Forest, which is no distance off, was open, and its fine trees, though few compared with what they had been, still formed a striking feature in the landscape. Thomas Fuller records[1] that in his time the county—of which he was a native—was "as fruitful and populous as any in England, insomuch that sixteen several towns with their churches have at one view been discovered by my eyes, which I confess none of the best." "Sure I am," he

[1] "The History of the Worthies of England, endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, D.D."

adds, "there is as little waste ground in this as in any county in England; no mosses, mears, fells, heaths (Whitering but a beauty-spot), which elsewhere fill so many shires with much emptiness; Northamptonshire being an apple without core to be cut out, or rind to be pared away."

The village itself, with population not far off a thousand, lay rather high and cold in the yet unenclosed "field," and must have been dreary enough in winter. It consisted of two hamlets, Paulerspury proper and Pury End, separated by a depression with a small brook in the bottom, where children would delight to dabble in the summer time; and extended in straggling fashion more than a mile from one extremity to the other. The houses were mostly built of grey-looking stone, and turned many a quaint and high-pitched gable to the village-street with small regard to symmetry of arrangement; the upper windows looking out from under eyebrows of dark thatch. Great trees flung their shadows here and there—one fine elm which stands at the entrance to the churchyard surviving to the present. The soil was too cold and stiff for any but the commonest flowers, and a few ferns of the hardiest kinds, such as would grow anywhere. There were tufts of primrose, cowslips, violets, blue bells, buttercups, crowfoot, with Wordsworth's small celandine, and just over the way from the school-house what a "starry multitude" of daisies! The rarer birds were beginning to disappear from the locality—if indeed they had ever

haunted it; but of a summer evening the nightingale could still be heard in the dark woods of Whittlebury a mile away. Near the church was the village green, with deep draw-well in the middle, the water clear as crystal, and cool in the hottest day of summer. Away over by the Forest was just such a neighbourhood as a boy would scour for birds' nests, or a very young botanist for plants and flowers.

In this village, in a cottage which has now disappeared, William Carey saw the light, 17th August, 1761.[1] He was the first-born of five children, William, Ann, Mary, Thomas, and Elizabeth. Elizabeth, who bore her mother's name, died in infancy. The father, Edmund Carey—"a short, dotty man"—was a weaver, but succeeded to the united offices of village schoolmaster and parish clerk when his son William was about six years old. School-house and master's house stood end to end, with a bit of playground in front, in which grew two wide-spreading planes. The school forms were small trees, sawn down the middle, the flat side smoothed and turned upward, resting on legs as primitive as the body. The old man lived to complete his eightieth year, in "honest repute" among his neighbours for "the strictest integrity and uprightness," "a lover of good men," and "a great reader." A gravestone in the churchyard recorded his death, June 15th, 1816.

In those days and in that district, village life was far

[1] Was he a descendant of "James Cary," curate of the parish from 1624 to 1630?

from being Elysian. From an early age the children were kept close at work, with little time allowed for school or play. The price of labour was very low, and there was often scarcity of food. The chief employments were those of shoemakers, tailors, wool-combers, weavers, dyers, woodmen, and agricultural labourers. The wives and daughters earned something by spinning and making pillow-lace. The common pay of a labourer from Michaelmas to Midsummer was under five shillings a week—with his beer and a cup of milk at breakfast time; other work was paid in proportion. The rent of a farm of a hundred acres—and there were few larger—was about £30. The "cottage homes of England," smiling over "silvery brooks" or nestling among "glowing orchards," made beautiful pictures; but the fortunes of the cottager—as may be imagined—were cheerless enough: poverty and sore toil bringing on age before its time. It was to such prospects that young Carey was born.

The memorials of his boyhood, though meagre, enable us to picture him somewhat vividly. Attached to the schoolmaster's house was a considerable-sized orchard-garden, and this the boy cultivated almost entirely by himself. If there was an unproductive spot he planted a tree or shrub in it; and he found room besides for a variety of choice flowers, collected with pains, which he carefully tended. He was small for his years, and slightly built. Dress and manners were rustic; but he had a prepossessing face, eye and brow in particular,

and a bright, indomitable spirit. He had good physical stamina, was wiry and nimble, and took all a boy's delight in frolic and adventure. If, for example, there was a tree more than ordinarily difficult to climb, he was sure to try, often succeeding where others failed. In one such attempt, for which a bird's nest was the prize, he came to the ground, bruised and half-stunned, but as soon as he was able to leave the house, the first thing he did was to try again and succeed.

Along with his high spirits he had a keen desire for knowledge, great perseverance in the pursuit of it, and a fine memory. As the schoolmaster's son he had advantages over the children generally; still, his pursuit of knowledge was carried on under difficulties. After he became famous, the villagers remembered that whatever he began he finished, and that he did not know how to yield. In later life, when some one made reference to what he had accomplished, he replied—unconsciously revealing the inner self—"There is nothing remarkable in it; it has only required perseverance." Another time he said to his nephew, Eustace: "If after my removal any one should think it worth his while to write my life, I will give you a criterion how you may judge of its correctness. If he give me credit for being *a plodder* he will do me justice. Anything beyond this will be too much. I can plod. I can persevere in any definite pursuit. To this I owe everything." There is truth in this self-estimate. He had indeed a clear, vigorous intellect—prompt, acute, and capable of considerable

comprehension; he was many-sided; he had a child's simplicity; with much gentleness of disposition he combined unswerving decision; but he had no imagination, no philosophic insight,—

"No conquering gift of speech or form or face;"

no splendid native endowments of any sort; his characteristic from boyhood onward was what Robert Hall termed "unrelenting industry," or, if there be such a quality, the enthusiasm of patience. What this carries in it let Carlyle tell: "To swallow one's disgusts, and do faithfully the ugly commanded work, taking no 'council' with flesh and blood—know that genius everywhere in nature means this first of all; that, without this, it means nothing, generally less."

Books in those days were few, and not easy to be begged or borrowed by a country boy; but he had "a hunger" for them, and such as fell in his way he mastered. His tastes inclined him to those which bore on travel, adventure, history, and more especially natural science. Novels and plays he avoided, as he avoided books on religious subjects, and to some extent from the same motive. The "Pilgrim's Progress," however, fascinated him, though he did not understand it.

He learned from nature as well as books. His sister Mary—"Polly" he called her—several years his junior, used to be his companion in many of his country rambles, as when he went to gather "Whittlebury nuts," or to visit some favourite resort; and she relates how he

never walked out without keeping his eye inquisitively on hedge and bush; and if he took up a specimen of any sort he always observed it with care. His little room at home was crowded with living plants, birds, and insects, which he had himself collected, and whose habits he carefully watched. This love of nature never died out in him, and had much to do with the good health and flow of spirits which made him known many a year afterwards as "the cheerful old man."

From his seventh year he was troubled with a disorder, chiefly affecting his face and hands, which made the sun's rays disagreeable to him, and rendered him unfit for any outdoor employment; so, when somewhere over fourteen years of age, he was apprenticed to Mr. Clarke Nichols, shoemaker, Hackleton, nine or ten miles eastward from his native village.

This engagement seemed at the time decisive of the boy's future career, and in an ordinary case it would have been so. But though as yet he had no ulterior aims, his thirst for knowledge continued unabated. As an indication of this, it is related that among his master's books there was a commentary on the New Testament, the pages sprinkled with Greek words. These words were as great a puzzle to him as Egyptian hieroglyphics would have been; but he was fascinated by them and determined to get at their meaning, so he copied them as accurately as he could, and on his visits home took the copy with him to be deciphered and translated by Tom Jones, a weaver in the village, who had received

and misused a classical education. It is not probable that he added much to his stock of information in this way, but the discipline was worth something.

About the end of his second year's apprenticeship his master died. Though under no legal obligation, he paid (or there was paid for him), a sum of money to the widow for his freedom, and he entered the employment of Mr. T. Old, in the same village, as a journeyman, receiving lower wages, as he was not yet master of the craft. It is generally stated that he was a poor workman—so much so that he could never make a pair of shoes to match each other or to please the customer; but this was not his own estimate of his proficiency.[1] Of course the country lad would not have found employment in a fashionable workshop, but the work he turned out was counted good for the district, and he relates that his employer kept on view a pair of shoes made by him, as a model of what shoes ought to be.

A revolution took place in his life about his eighteenth year. Though brought up a strict churchman, as became the son of a parish clerk, and in due time confirmed,

[1] "The childish story of my shortening a shoe to make it longer is entitled to no credit, though it would be very silly in me to pretend to recollect all the shoes I made. I was accounted a very good workman."—*Carey to Dr. Ryland.* There is no inconsistency between this and his retort to the general officer who inquired of one of the aides-de-camp, when dining with the Marquis of Hastings, whether Dr. Carey had not once been a shoemaker?—"*No, sir! only a cobbler.*"

he was a stranger to the love of Christ. "Stirrings of mind" he had often experienced, succeeded by good resolutions, which, however, always melted away; he was well acquainted with the letter of Scripture, particularly the Psalms and the historical books; he attended church and said "Amen" with regularity: but that was all. Notwithstanding his father's solicitude to guard him from harm, he had associated with companions whose influence could only be debasing; his lips were too often polluted with profane language; he told lies; and he ran great risk of going down into those depths of gross conduct to be found among the lower classes of neglected villages.

In the same employment there was another young man—just awakening to the perception of invisible realities—the son of a dissenter, with whom he had frequent discussions in the workshop on religious subjects, the master occasionally putting in a word. Being a churchman, who had read Jeremy Taylor's "Works," and Spinker's "Sick Man Visited," young Carey had always viewed dissenters with contempt—indeed, to be a dissenter was then only one remove from being a pariah; he had pride enough, too, for a thousand times his knowledge; and so, though the argument often went against him, he always had the last word. Subsequent reflection, however, convinced him that, even when triumphant, he was in the wrong, and led to a growing uneasiness and many "stings of conscience," though it was long till he saw that what he needed was a new

heart. Nevertheless, a gracious purpose was served; he was made sensible of his sinful condition, and began earnestly to search the Scriptures.

In this state of mind he thought he would render himself acceptable to God, and secure peace, by means of religious observances; and accordingly, in the spirit of a young Pharisee, he began to attend church three times on Sunday, and a dissenting prayer-meeting in the evening; he also began to fight against his bad habits, and sometimes, when alone, he tried to pray. It is impossible to trace the various stages of his experience, but the issue was a perception of the wonderful grace of God, through the Redeemer, and that vital change of heart whence all newness of life proceeds. The transition from darkness into light was not sudden; rather the contrary. For a time, as his sinfulness was brought home to him, he "sought the Lord with shame and fear"; and even after he thought himself in the light, he would seem to be thrown back again into darkness as black as ever. Just as the Gospel was beginning to shape itself before his mind into a consistent and gracious system, he came in contact with some who "had drank deeply into the opinions of Law and other mystics." In a long discussion with one of these men, conducted in a manner quite new to him, he became more deeply convinced than ever that his life was out of harmony with the Gospel; he "felt ruined and helpless," and the anxiety into which he was thus thrown brought him "to depend wholly on the crucified Saviour for

pardon and salvation." Still, perplexities and fears would haunt him, and though he listened earnestly to various ministers, and conversed with many experienced Christians, they left him in an inquisitive and unsatisfied state.

Thomas Scott, the commentator, who had succeeded John Newton in his curacy at Olney, was in the habit of walking occasionally from Olney to Northampton; and when he did so would call at Mr. Old's house in passing. On the first of these visits a "sensible-looking lad," wearing his leather apron, entered the room along with Mr. Old. Mr. Scott gave an account of the conversion of an aged relative of the Olds, who had long been considered a "self-righteous Pharisee"; and he pointed out how the term was often wrongly applied to conscientious but ignorant inquirers. The attention of the young shoemaker "was riveted with every mark and symptom of intelligence and feeling;" and now and then he "modestly asked an appropriate question." Calling at the house twice or thrice a year, Mr. Scott was each time more struck with the youth, and judged that he would one day prove no ordinary man.[1]

The younger sister, already referred to, speaking of the change in her brother, says: "Before this, with respect to religion, he was at enmity with God, and in

[1] A gentleman, who lived in the neighbourhood, and who had observed the signs of promise in the boy, informed the family "that never a youth promised fairer to make a great man, had he not turned a cushion-thumper."

many things ridiculed His people. I well remember our wondering at the change. This was evident in his conduct and conversation. For some time he stood alone in his father's house. I recollect once his burning a pack of cards he had before purchased. Like Gideon, he wished to throw down all the altars of Baal in one night; his zeal perhaps at the time might exceed the bounds of prudence. I often wished he would not bring his religion home, though it was a harder task to discover [manifest] his zeal at home than anywhere, had he not felt the importance so great. Often have I seen him sigh as if his heart were overwhelmed, yet he could not speak to us. He, however, asked leave to pray in the family, and one circumstance I well recollect. He always mentioned these words, that *all our righteousness was as filthy rags.* That used to touch my pride and raise my indignation."

In 1781 a small Church was formed at Hackleton, consisting of nine members. Carey's name is third in the list.[1] He does not seem to have been much with them, being soon afterwards occupied in village preaching. Opposite his name in the church-book is the

[1] He had broken off from the Church of England some time previously without very clearly knowing why. The tenth name in the above list is that of William Manning, Carey's shopmate. The educational level of the little band may be judged from this entry: "The ordance of baptsom first instituted. Mr. Timson, of Earl Barton, first performed that ordance at Hackleton, July the 25, 1798." There had been an old meeting-house opened in the village as far back as 1767.

entry: "Whent away without his dismission." Several others "whent away" in the same manner. About the time when this little Church was formed, there was a considerable religious "awakening" in the neighbourhood, and prayer-meetings were more than ordinarily frequented. A sort of "conference meeting" was also begun, in which the members gave their thoughts on some passage of Scripture. Carey sometimes took part, "the ignorant people applauding," as he records, "to my great injury," and tempting him to self-conceit.

On the 10th of June, 1781, at Piddington Church, he married Dorothy Plackett, his employer's sister-in-law, and on Mr. Old's death soon after, he succeeded him in business,[1] occupying a small neat house in the village, with a pleasant garden, to which he paid great attention. His marriage was a mistake. His wife was indeed a good woman, but she had scarcely any education; she had neither nerve nor strength for hardships; she could not sympathise in her husband's aspirations, and, unhappily, she had a pre-disposition to mental disease. He always treated her with respectful tenderness.

He was present one of the days when the Association of Baptist Churches held their meeting at Olney, in June, 1782, fasting till night because he had not a penny to buy a dinner. Mr. Guy,[2] of Sheepshead, preached *On*

[1] The sign-board of his shop may be seen in Regent's Park College, London. It was preserved by William Manning, his shop-mate, from whose widow it was obtained in 1815, by Joseph Ivimey.

[2] Called "the sleeping preacher" from his habit of speaking on

Growing in Grace, and in the afternoon at five, Andrew Fuller, a "round-headed, rustic-looking" young minister from Soham, just beginning to be recognized as a man of singularly powerful and acute intellect, and uncommon weight of character, preached *On being Men in Understanding*. The same Andrew Fuller next morning laid on the table the annual Circular Letter, *On the excellence and utility of the grace of Hope*. On this occasion, through the intervention of Mr. Chater, the Independent minister of Olney, Carey met with some friends belonging to Earl's Barton, a village about six miles from Hackleton; and a fortnight afterwards he was formally requested to preach to a little congregation there. He complied. Why he did so, he says, "I cannot tell; but believe it was because I had not a sufficient degree of confidence to refuse; this has occasioned me to comply with many things which I would have been gladly excused from." He continued to visit Barton for about three years and a half. Once a month or so he preached in his native village; occasionally elsewhere.

Though sincerely trusting the Saviour and walking in newness of life, his views of Divine truth were yet far from being clear, and he continued to search the Scriptures with slow and prayerful earnestness, using "free inquiry and diligent search, to find out the truth," and gradually constructing for himself a system of Biblical

religious subjects in his sleep. "The sermon of the sleeping preacher" will be found in the *Baptist Magazine* for 1862, page 317, where the name is misprinted *Gray*.

theology. While he was prosecuting his search, Mr. Skinner, of Towcester, presented him with a copy of Hall's "Help to Zion's Travellers,"[1] and this book was of such service to him that "for the first time he felt the ground of his faith firm and stable." There were some indeed who labelled the book "*Poison;*" if it *was* poison, he says, "it was so sweet to me that I drank it greedily to the bottom of the cup."

Not long after becoming a master he was obliged to sell off his stock at a loss, owing to depression of trade. At the same time sickness invaded his home; his first-born child, a little girl, was taken away after a short illness, and he himself was attacked with fever which left him in health so feeble that for more than a year he had the greatest difficulty in providing daily bread for his household. Such indeed was the pressure upon him that he would have been reduced to the verge of starvation but for timely aid from his younger brother, and a small gift of money from friends at Paulerspury, enabling him to rent a cottage and garden in the neighbouring village of Piddington. The fever still hung about him there, combined with ague, and rendered him prematurely bald.[1]

[1] "Help to Zion's Travellers; being an attempt to remove various stumbling-blocks out of the way, relating to doctrinal, experimental, and practical religion. By Robert Hall. Sold by Buckland & Keith, London. Price 3*s.* bound."

[1] A likeness of him in "a black coat and stiff old powdered wig" hung in Fuller's parlour. Dr. Ryland did not like it. Writing to India in 1809, he says, "I wish we had a picture of

At the age of twenty-two, having become convinced from Scripture that baptism should not precede but follow personal faith in the Redeemer, he applied as a candidate to Mr. Ryland, senior, of Northampton, who lent him a book, and put him into the hands of his son. On the 5th of October, 1783, he was baptized by the younger Ryland in the Nen, a little beyond Dr. Doddridge's chapel in Northampton. To onlookers as well as to Ryland himself—so he afterwards stated—it was merely the baptism of a poor journeyman shoemaker, and the service attracted no special attention. Ryland's morning text that day was unconsciously prophetic (Matt. xix. 30), "But many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first."

A desire had been growing up among the people at Barton to embody themselves as a Church, with Carey as their pastor; and they consulted Mr. Sutcliff, of Olney, on the subject, who paid them a visit and had a conference with them. He preached a sermon on the occasion, which Carey stayed to hear. In private discourse Sutcliff advised him to join "some respectable Church," by whom he might be "appointed to the ministry" in a regular way. He followed the advice, and applied to the Olney Church, a community dis-

Carey without his odious stiff wig and coat-collar. Good Mr. Wilson, of Olney, is an excellent Christian, but one of the ugliest wig-makers that ever was born. He made them of just the same description for Carey, Fuller and Sutcliff; enough to spoil any man's physiognomy." Carey is said to have thrown his overboard on his passage to India.

tinguished for Christian zeal and concord. He had removed from Piddington to Moulton at the previous Lady-Day, and exercised his ministry there as well as at Barton. The Olney Church-book records that "a request from William Carey, of Moulton, in Northamptonshire," for membership, was brought forward on the 17th June, 1785; and it is noted: "He has been, and still is, in connection with a society of people at Hackleton. He is occasionally engaged with acceptance in various places in speaking the word. He bears a very good moral character. He is desirous of being sent out from some reputable and orderly Church of Christ, into the work of the ministry. The principal question debated was, In what manner shall we receive him? By a letter from the people at Hackleton, or on a profession of faith? The final resolution of it was left to another Church-meeting."

The following month he appeared before the Church, and having given a satisfactory "account of the work of God upon his soul," he was admitted a member, and was invited to preach in public once next Lord's day. He preached accordingly in the evening. It seems that some of the brethren were not quite satisfied; so it was resolved that he should be "allowed" to go on preaching at those places where he had been for some time employed—Earl's Barton, Moulton, and elsewhere; but it was deemed necessary "that he should engage again on suitable occasions for some time before us, in order that farther trial may be made of his ministerial gifts."

On June 16th, next year, "the case of Brother Carey was considered, and an unanimous satisfaction with his ministerial abilities being expressed, a vote was passed to call him to the ministry at a proper time." On the 10th of August, accordingly, he was formally "called" —a term corresponding to Presbyterial "license"—and was sent out from Olney to preach the gospel "wherever God in His providence" might determine. This was done after he had delivered a discourse which he describes as having been "as weak and crude as anything could be, which is or has been called a sermon."

Meanwhile the tie with Earl's Barton was loosening. This was due in part to necessity. The friends there were few and very poor—so poor that they were unable "to raise enough to pay for the clothes worn out in their service;" and he must have starved but for his trade. By-and-by, "circumstances" led to the entire severance of his connection with Barton; after which the Moulton people seem to have enjoyed his undivided services. The congregation at Moulton had been originally on the General Baptist foundation. Throughout the county these congregations were considered not as distinct Churches, but as one. Through declension in preaching and life, however, they had been wasting away, while communities more distinctly evangelical gradually took their place. So it came about that when Carey settled in Moulton, the Church had practically ceased to be General Baptist, and held views of Divine truth pretty nearly akin to his own.

For a length of time discipline had been neglected; but on Lord's Day, 1st October, 1786, having had Carey's services for more than twelve months, they met together, and unanimously signed a "Covenant," in which they declared their acceptance of the Word of God as their only guide in matters of religion, acknowledged that no other authority whatsoever is binding on the conscience, professed themselves persons who had found mercy of the Lord, and held themselves bound to walk in obedience to His Divine commands. The "Covenant," which is somewhat lengthy, was designed to promote the purity of the Church, particularly as respects life and character. A month later (2nd November) they invited him to become their pastor.

One consideration that induced him to settle at Moulton was the prospect of exchanging shoemaking for teaching. He opened school; but it soon became clear, even to himself, that in becoming a schoolmaster he had mistaken his calling: he could neither wield the school-sceptre with authority nor inspire the village children with the love of knowledge. "When I kept school," he would afterwards laughingly say, "the boys kept me." His income was "about Ten Pounds per Annum" from the Church, Five Pounds from a fund in London, and latterly seven shillings and sixpence a week from his school—in all, less than £36. The village preacher, in "Sweet Auburn," was

> "Passing rich with forty pounds a year;"

but then he had his "garden" and his "modest mansion"

besides : Carey had only his six and thirty, or something less,—a sum altogether inadequate to enable him to do his Church work and maintain his family. The consequence was a return to his former trade, which yielded him a bare living. Northampton, eight or ten miles distant, was then the metropolis of shoemakers ; as far back as the days of Thomas Fuller it might "be said to stand chiefly on other men's leggs ;" and there was a common saying that "you may know when you are within a mile of the town by the noise of the cobblers' lap-stones." Once a fortnight, the little man, with a far-away look on his face, might be seen trudging thither with wallet full of shoes for delivery to a government contractor, and then returning home with a burden of leather for next fortnight's work. All this time, in poverty that would have crushed the spirit out of an ordinary man in three months—borrowing and occasionally buying a book—he went on with his studies. One notable habit he had formed in his Barton days, which he continued at Moulton—that of carefully reading beforehand, in the original Hebrew or Greek, as well as in a Latin translation, the portion of Scripture which he selected for the morning devotional exercise in church.

Dr. Ryland records an incident illustrative of Carey's faculty as a linguist. "Well, Mr. Carey," he said to him one day, "you remember how I laughed at you when I heard of your learning Dutch, for I thought you would never have any use for that language ; but now I

have the first opportunity of profiting by it. I have received a parcel from Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh, who has long been used to send me any interesting publications which he receives from America or which have been printed in Scotland; and this parcel contains several of those sorts; but, he says, I shall wonder that he has enclosed a Dutch book. This, he informs me, is a volume of sermons written by a divine now living in Holland; at the end of which is a Dissertation on the call of the gospel, which if any friend of mine or Mr. Fuller's understands the language sufficiently to translate it for us, we should be glad to see. Now (said I to Mr. Carey) if you will translate this Dissertation for me, I will give you the whole." Carey soon brought the Dissertation,[1] and afterwards an extraordinary sermon on Hosea iii., translated from the Dutch volume. He had acquired his knowledge of the language chiefly through means of a Dutch quarto obtained from an old woman in the neighbourhood.

The Church-life of the Moulton congregation is suggestively pictured in their Church-book. "Mr. Carey" has been acting as their "minister" for some time; and at a Church-meeting on 2nd November, 1786, it was "universally agreed" to call him "to the office of *Pastor*,

[1] "A Discourse on the Gospel Offer, by a Minister of the Reformed Church, translated from the Dutch by the Rev. Wm. Carey, of Moulton, near Northampton, 1789." The original MS. (with other treasures) is in the Vestry of College Lane Chapel, Northampton. It is in a very small hand, pp. 45, two blank.

which was accordingly done." On 1st February, 1787, he "agreed to accept" this call. On 3rd May, "our Brother William Carey was received by a letter of dismission from the Baptist Church at Olney, in the double character of a member and minister; and his ordination was settled or appointed to be on Wednesday, Aug. 1st. Agreed that Mr. Ryland, jun. shall ask the question, Mr. Sutcliff preach the charge, Mr. Fuller to the people." The service was held as arranged, and the young pastor was solemnly installed in office by the laying on of hands; the "ordination prayer" being offered by Mr. John Stanger, who dwelt particularly on the petition that he "might serve the Lord with all humility of mind." On the 2nd August, "our Brother William Carey having been yesterday ordained our Elder or Pastor, we agreed to administer and receive the Lord's Supper next Lord's day." In this settlement they certainly carried out the apostolic injunction to lay hands suddenly on no man.

At the time of calling him to be pastor, they "agreed to establish a little fund for the support of their poor, by contributing *2d.* a month each." The same night "*2s. 4d.* was subscribed." The little fund grew till they had upwards of £1 at their disposal. It was disbursed in sums varying from sixpence to three shillings a month, and an account of income and outlay was as faithfully kept as if they had been dealing with the revenue of Great Britain.

A sister in the Church "has for a long time neglected coming to hear," and a brother is appointed "to inquire

into the reasons of it, and if she still continues to neglect to fill up her place, to exclude her as a disorderly member." She promises to come and give her reasons for non-attendance; and till then the matter is allowed to rest. "Having given her reasons, which appeared insufficient to us, and yet promising to fill up her place as often as possible, we thought it not proper to admit her to communion till we see reason to think that her attendance is from a good motive." Six months later, it is "unanimously concluded to exclude her from our communion, she never coming near us to answer to the charges brought against her."

Elizabeth Britain, an old lady in the Workhouse, afflicted with an unruly tongue, is "charged with uttering passionate and unbecoming words," for which she is "reproved by the Church"; but as she "acknowledged and appeared sorry for the affair," no more was done. The same month next year she is again charged "with frequently indulging excessive passion," as also with "tattling and tale-bearing;" and is suspended till she show "tokens of godly sorrow." Two months later it is recorded that she has given satisfactory tokens of repentance. By-and-by she appears as a complainer against two other members of the Church, "John and Ann Law, who had taken the Workhouse," charging them with "cruelty to the poor." The Church hears the evidence against them; and then they state their defence, which involves "an accusation against Elizabeth Britain for misbehaviour." On full examination it is found that

some of the charges against John and Ann Law "are too true," but yet it was difficult positively to prove them. However, as the Church "could not prove the innocence" of the accused persons, and as "the Gospel was reproached by means thereof," they advised them to refrain meantime from the Lord's supper. Poor Elizabeth Britain is found to be "of a very arrogant and passionate conduct," and guilty of "tale-bearing, by which the peace of the Church was very much broken"; and she is "suspended and admonished." Eight months later the same cases are considered by the Church at a meeting specially called for the purpose. John and Ann Law are "admonished to let old Elizabeth Britain work or not as she pleases, and be paid for her work;" and they are advised, as soon as they prudently can, to resign the care of the Workhouse, remaining suspended till they do so. Elizabeth Britain's case is again taken into consideration, as also that of Edward Smith, who "had thrown himself on the parish while he had property to subsist on;" and they are "admonished to repent of their conduct, and remain suspended till they manifest it."

It appears that the Moulton Church is interested in certain legacies, along with some neighbouring Churches, £50 being in the hands of Brother William Stanger of Burton-Latimer. At the Church-meeting a question is put on the subject to Brother John Law, who refuses to answer; and the matter is referred to the "arbitrement" of Brother Stanger; Mr. Wade, Elder at Kilsby; and Mr.

Adams, Elder at Napton-on-the-hill. In due time Mr. Adams comes over, armed with authority; and it is found that Mr. Wright of Daventry left £60; a soldier, "supposed to be in Oliver's army," left £20; and so forth, making £150 in all, of which £5 had been lost. The sum available for Moulton was £85, of which it appeared £10 had been lost. Of the £75 remaining, it was agreed to allow Brother Stanger the interest of £15; the interest of £60 being divided equally between the minister and the poor of the Church. Interest to the amount of £1 19*s.* 8*d.* was in hand, of which "we agreed to give 20*s.* to our Brother Carey, so that 19*s.* 8*d.* remains to be distributed among the poor."

The village of Moulton was considerable, and there were neighbouring villages which sent in their contingent to the Baptist congregation on the Lord's day. The "meeting-house," erected in 1750, was a small edifice, thirty feet by twenty-one; and in Carey's time it had got "exceedingly out of repair," and one wall had become "so ruinous" that it was thought dangerous to meet in the place much longer. Besides this, it had pleased God "to awaken a considerable number of persons to a serious concern for the salvation of their souls, and to incline many others to attend upon the preaching of the Gospel;" so that for two years there had not been "room sufficient to contain them," and numbers more would have attended had there been accommodation for them. Hence it became a matter of necessity to do something, "unless we would give

up the Gospel, or run the risque of being buried in the ruins of our building." They resolved therefore to enlarge the house by making it thirty feet square, putting on a new roof, and rebuilding "most of the walls;" and this, they expected, would cost one hundred pounds. On attempting a collection among themselves, they could raise but two pounds and a few shillings. They appealed for help, therefore, "to all those who are generously disposed to encourage the publication of the everlasting Gospel, with a view to the honour of the great Redeemer, and the salvation of perishing sinners;" and, as "Mr. Carey" could not leave his school to solicit contributions, they begged that "if God should put it into the heart of any of our Christian friends at a distance to assist us in our distress and necessity," the money should be remitted "to the care of the Rev. Mr. Ryland, in Gyles's Street, Northampton."

Such was the Nazareth out of which the modern missionary enterprise was to come forth. "The smallest thing," says John Foster, "rises into consequence when regarded as the commencement of what has advanced, or is advancing, into magnificence. The first rude settlement of Romulus would have been an insignificant circumstance, and might justly have sunk into oblivion, if Rome had not at length commanded the world." Moulton's claim to remembrance is its association with the great missionary idea of modern times.

CHAPTER II.

THOUGH sorely pressed by poverty, Carey found his residence at Moulton advantageous in many ways. Besides that his sphere of usefulness was enlarged, he was able to devote himself to more thorough and systematic study; he learned to husband his time with a severe wisdom which gave him the fullest use of it; he had readier and larger access to books; and he was brought into intercourse with a circle of ministers of great personal worth, notable among whom were Dr. Ryland, Mr. Sutcliff, the venerable and gracious Mr. Hall of Arnsby, not inferior in native genius to his illustrious son, and chiefly Andrew Fuller, now pastor of the Church at Kettering. His intimacy with Fuller dates from a ministers' meeting at Northampton. He was unexpectedly called to preach on the occasion; and, as he left the pulpit, Fuller grasped his hand and hoped they would become better acquainted. The intimacy thus commenced ripened into a friendship which became closer and more confiding every year till the death of Fuller, more than a quarter of a century afterwards.

It was at Moulton that Carey's great thought took definite shape in his mind. He had been reading

"Cook's Voyages Round the World"—a book as fascinating at that time as "Robinson Crusoe"—and, as he taught his geography class at school, from a globe of leather of his own construction,[1] it flashed painfully upon him how small a portion of the human race yet possessed any knowledge of Jesus Christ and His salvation. How could the existing state of matters be accounted for? Was it by sovereign decree, which it was impious to question? Was it the Divine will that the nations should sit in darkness till some "set time" arrived? Or was there not blame somewhere? And if so, ought there not to be repentance, and works meet for repentance? He resolved to investigate the subject thoroughly, and to be guided thereafter not by his feelings, but by the ascertained will of the Lord. Patiently and devoutly he prosecuted his inquiry. He saw, with Fuller, "the freeness of the Gospel." He saw its adaptation to men universally. And the charge to bear it into all the world seemed to him to lay imperative obligation of some sort not merely on the Christian Church in general, but on himself in particular.

With the map of the world unrolled, and consulting books that described the various countries, he ascertained as exactly as he could the extent of those countries, their population, their government, their social and religious condition.[2] The result at which he arrived was

[1] Baker's *Northamptonshire.*

[2] Fuller relates that on entering his workshop, he found a very large map on the wall, consisting of several sheets of paper pasted

something like this: that the population of the world was not less than seven hundred and thirty millions, of whom about seven millions were Jews, thirty millions Greek and Armenian Christians in name, forty-four millions nominally Protestant, one hundred millions Roman Catholic, one hundred and thirty millions Mahommedan, while all the rest, numbering more than four hundred millions, lay in the blackest night of Paganism.

The result appalled him: but even this was not all. The vices of European civilization had been propagated to every shore; the face of so-called "Christendom" presented a dreadful spectacle of ignorance, hypocrisy, and profligacy; there was oppression of the weak by the strong everywhere; pernicious errors abounded; the Gospel itself was attacked, and every method that the enemy could invent was employed "to undermine the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ;" while the Churches, generally, lay in a state of profound and self-complacent apathy—apathy almost sublime when the world's woes were taken into account.

The condition of England itself—which was sometimes spoken of as "a garden of the Lord"—was terrible; and that notwithstanding all that had been

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together, on which was represented every country in the known world, with jottings of all he had met with in his reading relative to its condition: a singular commentary on the aphorism, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* The *ultra* in this case was the most distant boundary of earth; and the great thought that inspired the shoemaker-preacher had its natural effect, and dignified and enlarged his being.

done by Whitefield, Wesley, and their coadjutors. In "the Church" men like Herbert's "Country Parson" might have been found by searching, but they were the rare exceptions; while in the membership of that Church, as well as among dissenters of every name, errors and looseness of conduct extensively prevailed. The "lower orders" were steeped in ignorance; among the "higher classes" gambling, duelling, drunkenness, uncleanness, were scarcely regarded as vices; infidelity was rampant; in extensive districts the Gospel was all but unknown, the substitute for it being a heartless morality that was moral only in name, or a barren orthodoxy that dealt with "Christianity" but knew not Christ; and one might have gone throughout some whole counties without hearing much more of the truth than could be gathered from the pages of Cicero, and sometimes even less—except it might be in some despised conventicle. Too truly—as Carlyle has named it—it was "the godless eighteenth century."

Painfully meditating, Carey arrived at the conclusion that the Gospel must be sent to the heathen. Even for England's salvation this must be done—as Italy was saved from the terrible Hannibal by carrying the war across into Africa. He could scarcely talk or preach, and he could never pray, without referring to the subject.

It must not be supposed that the missionary spirit was unknown before his time. On the contrary, the history of the Gospel has been a history of aggression from the beginning: great names and great though often

mistaken movements will at once occur to the memory of every reader of Church history: and at times the missionary spirit has glowed with an intensity that in these modern days we can scarcely understand.

Not to go farther back, the wonderful devotion of Francis Xavier in the East, though associated with so many elements of error and superstition, was at least homage to the Saviour's will. Born in 1506, under the shadow of the Pyrenees, Xavier was a young Spanish grandee of wit and splendid accomplishments, when his acquaintance was sought by Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the "Society of Jesus"; and speedily he came under the spell of that master-spirit. Kneeling at the altar-steps of St. Denys, Loyola, Xavier, Laynez, Bobadilla, Rodriguez, Salmeron, and Faber swore on the consecrated bread to renounce all earthly possessions and joys, and to devote their lives to the conversion of unbelievers. A few years later, at the age of thirty-five, Xavier looked his last on the purple hills of Spain, and sailed for India, to win those eastern lands as spoil for Christ. Though every comfort was ordered for him on his voyage, he refused to break his vow of poverty, but wore the squalid dress of the poorest, ate what the common sailors refused, and rested his head on a coil of rope no softer than Jacob's pillow. He stept ashore at Goa a gaunt and ragged man, with a sublime enthusiasm and daring in his heart, and spent his first night on Indian soil in solitary prayer. His mode of evangelizing, alas! was not that of apostles and apostolic

men; but in pursuing it he endured hardships such as would have brought any ordinary man to the grave in a few months' time. His errors were those of Rome: his aims were lofty and his devotion heroic. There is nothing nobler than his reply to those who warned him of the dangers of the Eastern Archipelago, when he was about to venture thither:—"If these islands had scented woods and mines of gold, Christians would have courage enough to go thither, nor would all the perils in the world prevent them. They are dastardly and alarmed because there are only souls of men to be gained. And shall love be less hardy than avarice? They will destroy me, you say, by poison. It is an honour to which such a sinner as I am may not aspire: but this I dare to say, that whatever form of torture or of death awaits me, I am ready to suffer it ten thousand times for the salvation of a single soul." After a brief career, in the course of which he visited many shores from India to Japan, he landed in the island of Sancian on his way to China; and there, in a miserable shed on the sea-beach, unsheltered from the fierce sun by day or the chills of night, he lay in mortal sickness till on the 2nd of December, 1552, with "*Amplius*" on his dying lips, he closed a life which has scarcely a parallel in history.

In another and very different quarter the spirit of missionary enterprise had been powerfully manifested. Among the pre-Reformation confessors and martyrs was John Huss of Prague, doomed to the flames for heresy.

Out of his ashes, so to speak, sprang the Church of the United Brethren. Their original home was Moravia, in the kingdom of Bohemia. A bloody decree was issued against them in 1468, which was ordered to be read from all the pulpits in the land. They soon crowded the prisons; many of them perished in dungeons; others were subjected to torture; the rest hid in forests. The Reformation did not bring them freedom; and toward the close of the seventeenth century it seemed as if they were exterminated; they could only meet in secrecy and darkness. Half a century later, a few families, escaping from Moravia, found refuge on the estates of Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, in Lusatia, where others afterwards joined them. While not more than six hundred in number, so imbued were they with the missionary spirit that there went out from them messengers of the cross to Lapland, Greenland, North America, the West Indies, different parts of Africa, and Ceylon. Being inured to poverty and hardship, they took little else with them than the clothes on their back. Wherever they came with the message of Divine love, though sometimes long waiting tried their patience, the rudest savages believed and entered into the fellowship of Christ.

A powerful influence, too, had been exerted on many minds by the brief, bright career of David Brainerd. Gentle, fragile, sensitive, heroic, inspired with intense love to his Redeemer, he had given himself to preach the Gospel among the American Indians (as Elliot had

done); and at the end of four years' time, in the course of which he had gathered many of these poor savages into the kingdom of the eternal love, he died, October, 1747, at the age of twenty-nine, under the roof of Jonathan Edwards, who afterwards wrote his "Life." The interpretation of his whole career is found in that longing of his: "Oh that I were a flaming fire in the service of my God!" It is not too much to say that for a century afterwards, his example had a marvellous influence in kindling within Christian hearts a desire to make Christ known in "the regions beyond." There is evidence that it influenced Carey.

It cannot be doubted that God was gradually preparing His people for a vaster enterprise of gospel extension than had been known since primitive times; and we should misconceive the case if we thought that Carey's heart was the only one in England in which missionary longings were created. As early as 1782, four years before Carey went to Moulton, Samuel Pearce of Birmingham felt that his desires "were particularly fixed upon the poor heathen." The very first week that he knew the love of God, "I put up," he says, "many fervent cries to heaven in their behalf; and at the same time felt an earnest desire to be employed in promoting their salvation. It was not long after, that the first settlers sailed for Botany Bay. I longed to go with them, although in company with the convicts, in hopes of making known the blessings of the great salvation in New Zealand."

In 1784 the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Churches urged upon all connected with it to hold meetings for prayer, "to bewail the low state of religion, and earnestly implore a revival of their Churches and of the general cause of the Redeemer, and for that end to wrestle with God for the effusion of His Holy Spirit," spending an hour for this purpose on the first Monday of every month. They entreated the brethren not to confine their requests to their own immediate connection, but urged: "Let the whole interest of the Redeemer be affectionately remembered, and the spread of the Gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe be the object of your most fervent requests." The urging of this charge was not indicative of a mere sentimental or romantic impulse, but was a sign that the Christian mind was awaking to a new sense of privilege and responsibility in spreading the Gospel.[1]

How far Carey was influenced from without, and how far he drew his impulse directly from the Bible, cannot

[1] A petition of William Castell, Parson of Courtenhall, "exhibited" to the High Court of Parliament, and printed in 1641, sets forth "the great and generall neglect of this Kingdome in not propagating the glorious Gospel in America, a maine part of the world," and the "evident necessity and benefit of the undertaking, together with the easinesse of effecting"; and maintains "that we of all nations are most for the worke, and most ingaged to doe it in due thankfulnesse to God." His petition to Parliament is "approved by 70 able English Divines; also by Master Alexander Henderson and some other worthy ministers of Scotland." Courtenhall, in Northamptonshire, lies only a few miles distant from Carey's district.

now be ascertained ; but, once the Saviour's will was clear to him, he felt the burden laid upon himself personally to do what he could for the salvation of the heathen, and he endeavoured with all earnestness to impart his convictions to his brethren in the ministry. It proved no easy task. In place of sympathy he met for the most part with indifference, and a disposition to put him down. It was not altogether surprising. When old Hugh Latimer, at the stake, wearing his nightcap and shroud, said to his fellow-sufferer Ridley, "Play the man, Master Ridley : we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out," he was probably (so says Froude) "the greatest man then living in the world"; Carey, lighting *his* candle, was nobody. When the missionary thought took hold of him, he was scarcely beyond his five and twentieth year ; his obscurity was extreme ; he was not gifted with commanding presence, eloquence, or passion ; he had never been within the walls of even the humblest college ; he was simply the poor pastor of a village church, in which there was not a single person of note or influence ; his income was but £36 a year, and more than half of that small sum was earned by painful toil.

All sorts of objections, too, were brought against the project itself : "The time is not come ;" "It is an interference with Divine sovereignty ;" "The means are awanting ;" "There is enough to do at home ; Christianize England before you set out on such a crusade ;" "Have any of the chief priests or rulers believed ?"

In Carey's own mind, however, doubt had no place: the principle he advocated had become as clear to him as anything in the Bible, and the duty as imperative as that of paying one's lawful debts. When in 1786 Fuller published his "Gospel Worthy of all Acceptation," Carey said to him: "If it be the duty of all men, where the Gospel comes, to believe unto salvation, then it is the duty of those who are entrusted with the Gospel to endeavour to make it known among all nations for the obedience of faith." The one thing seemed to him a corollary to the other.

To his faith, impediments in the way of the enterprise vanished. If *distance* were named, he pointed to the mariner's compass, to the ships that had gone forth on voyages of discovery, and above all to the promises of the Divine word: "Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first." British adventure was penetrating into every region of the globe; why should not the Gospel do the same?

If the *barbarous character* of the heathen were put forward as a difficulty, he replied, that this would hinder none but those whom love of ease rendered unwilling to endure hardship for Christ's sake. The primitive Christians were not thus daunted, nor in recent times men like Elliot or Brainerd; and those who sought nothing higher than worldly gain would brave many a hazard for the sake of a few otter-skins or elephants' tusks. In truth, the barbarism of the heathen, so far from being a dissuasive, was a powerful motive to the undertaking:

"Can we hear that they are without the Gospel, without government, without laws, without arts and science, and not exert ourselves to introduce among them the sentiments of men and of Christians?" And if the doing of this meant peril, be it so; why should not Christian men march to death at Christ's bidding?

As to difficulty of providing means of subsistence, it was not so great, he thought, as appeared at first sight. "The Christian minister would at least obtain such food as that on which the natives subsisted, and this would only be passing through what he had virtually engaged to do, by entering on the ministerial office." "The commission is a sufficient call to venture all, and, like the primitive Christians, go everywhere preaching the Gospel." The grand principle was "that a mission ary must be one of the companions and equals of the people to whom he is sent."

As to the missionaries themselves, "they must be men of great piety, prudence, courage, and forbearance, of undoubted orthodoxy in their sentiments, and must enter with all their hearts into the spirit of their mission; they must be willing to leave all the comforts of life behind them, and to encounter all the hardships of a torrid or a frigid climate, an uncomfortable manner of living, and every other inconvenience that can attend this undertaking." They must cultivate friendship with the natives, and convince them that it was their good that was sought; and they must specially guard against resenting injuries. "They must take every opportunity of doing

them good, and, labouring and travailing night and day, they must instruct, exhort, and rebuke, with all long-suffering and anxious desire for them; and, above all, must be instant in prayer for the effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the people of their charge. Let but missionaries of the above description engage in the work, and we shall see that it is not impracticable." Obviously such men could not be hired for money, or "bred" in colleges, but must be the "gift of God."

To some of his ministerial brethren Carey's views seemed wildly visionary, if not in direct conflict with the doctrine of God's sovereignty. It is related—probably with some embellishment—that at a meeting of ministers the elder Ryland called on the younger men round him to propose a subject for discussion at their next gathering, when Carey rose and suggested "The duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the Gospel among heathen nations." Springing to his feet, astonished and shocked, the good man ordered him to sit down:—"When God pleases to convert the heathen, He will do it without your aid or mine." Even Fuller held his breath at the boldness, if not audacity, of the proposal, and describes his feelings as having resembled those of the unbelieving noble who said, "If the Lord would open the windows of heaven, might this thing be?" In truth, while the conversion of the heathen was earnestly prayed for, to attempt it seemed like a profane outstretching of the hand to help the ark of God.

In 1789 he removed to Leicester, to the little Church

at Harvey Lane. His worldly circumstances were now somewhat improved, yet he still found it necessary to supplement his income by his own exertions. One who recollected his coming to Leicester,[1] states that he lived in a very small house just opposite the place of worship. "I have seen him at work in his leathern apron, his books beside him, and his beautiful flowers in the windows." By-and-by he opened a school, with better results than at Moulton. His turn for literature recommended him to the notice of Dr. Arnold, who gave him the use of his fine library, which was specially rich in books of science; and his botanical tastes brought him acquainted with Mr. Robert Brewin.

How his time was laid out here, we learn from a letter to his father. Monday was devoted to the study of languages; Tuesday to science and history; on Wednesday he lectured; Thursday was set apart for visitation; Friday and Saturday were spent in preparing for the Lord's Day; on that day he preached, morning and afternoon, at home, and evening in a neighbouring village and at home alternately. His school began at nine in the morning, and continued till four in winter and five in summer. Add all his other engagements, and it will be seen how fully his time was occupied. But, he says, "I am not my own, nor should I choose for myself. Let God employ me where He thinks fit, and give me patience and discretion to fill up my station to His honour and glory."

[1] Gardiner's *Music and Friends*, 1838.

On commencing pastoral work in Leicester, he discovered that (to use Dr. Ryland's expression) "the Antinomian devil had got in" among the members of the Church, and was playing havoc with character. His preaching was directed to the exorcising of this devil, by an exhibition of the doctrines of grace as they appear in Scripture. He found, however, that he "could not cast him out" by such means. He therefore proceeded, with consent of the best among them, to dissolve the Church and to form a new society which should include those only who professed subjection to the law of Christ in the New Testament as binding on all believers. Though the Church was thus diminished in numbers, its spiritual power was greatly increased, and a tone of piety and holy earnestness was speedily manifested. We have it on the testimony of Fuller that his zeal and unremitting Christian activity not only lifted him above detraction, but greatly endeared him to a wide circle of Christian friends; while his generous, manly, open disposition won him regard both from those who attended his ministry and from "many persons of learning and opulence" besides in the general community.

While prosecuting his work in Leicester, he became more than ever intent on the establishment of a mission to the heathen. Hitherto his urgency had been met partly by indifference, partly by opposition, and only in a few cases by intelligent sympathy; and as yet those who did sympathise—men like Fuller, Sutcliff, Pearce, and the younger Ryland—were not prepared to step

forward along the untrodden path in the dark. The spring meeting of ministers was held at Clipstone in October, 1791. Sutcliff preached "on being very jealous for the Lord God of hosts," and exhorted his brethren to cherish "the Divine passion, the celestial fire, that burned in the bosom and blazed in the life of Elijah." Fuller followed, exposing "the pernicious influence of delay"—a pungent and powerful sermon printed in his *Works*. "An uncommon degree of attention," says Dr. Ryland, "seemed to me to be excited by both sermons. I know not under which I felt the more. . . . Both were very impressive; and the mind of every one with whom I conversed seemed to feel a solemn conviction of our need of greater zeal, and of the evil of negligence and procrastination. I suppose that scarcely an idle word was spoken while I staid; and immediately after dinner, Carey introduced the subject of a mission by inquiring, 'if it were not practicable and our bounden duty to attempt somewhat towards spreading the Gospel in the heathen world.' As I had to preach at home that night, fourteen miles off, I was obliged to leave the company before the conversation ended." In the conversation Carey urged that they should commit themselves that very day. It was in vain. They agreed generally that *something should be done;* but the "something" was yet in the clouds. All the length they would go was to request him to publish his "Enquiry on Missions," written at Moulton, and lying by him in manuscript. To this request, which was

made partly to gain time, he consented, and the booklet appeared accordingly next year.[1]

Next year, May 31, 1792, the Association met at Nottingham. It devolved on Carey to preach the sermon. That Sermon really created the Baptist Missionary Society, while it has furnished a motto for Christian enterprise that can never be forgotten. The text was Isaiah liv. 2, 3: "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited." He began by pointing out that the Church was addressed as a desolate widow, dwelling in a little cottage by herself; that the command to enlarge her tent implied that there should be an enlargement of her family; that, to account for so unexpected and marvellous a change, she was told, "thy Maker is thy Husband," and that another day He

[1] "An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens. In which the religious state of the different nations of the world, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings are considered. By William Carey. Leicester, 1792. Price one shilling and sixpence." Some time previously, Mr. Potts, of Birmingham, had given him £10 toward the cost of publishing. He discusses the question whether the commission given by our Lord to His disciples be not still binding on Christians; gives a view of former undertakings; exhibits the condition of the world in his time; considers the practicability of doing something more than is done; and the duty of Christians in general in the matter.

would be called "the God of the whole earth." He then proceeded to establish and illustrate two great principles involved in the text: First, *Expect great things from God;* Second, *Attempt great things for God.* It was as if the sluices of his soul were thrown fully open, and the flood that had been accumulating for years rushed forth in full volume and irresistible power. "If all the people had lifted up their voices and wept," says Dr. Ryland, "as the children of Israel did at Bochim, I should not have wondered at the effect; it would only have seemed proportionate to the cause; so clearly did he prove the criminality of our supineness in the cause of God." Profound, however, as was the impression which the sermon produced, it failed to remove the hesitation that was in the minds of the brethren present, and that hindered action. They were about to disperse as usual, when Carey seized Fuller's hand and wrung it, in an agony of distress, demanding whether they could again separate without doing anything. His imploring appeal stayed the breaking up of the assembly, and it was resolved "That a plan be prepared against the next ministers' meeting at Kettering for the establishment of a Society for propagating the Gospel among the heathen."

The meeting was held at Kettering on the 2nd of October, 1792. When the public services were concluded, twelve men met in the evening in the back-parlour of Mrs. Beeby Wallis, widow of a deacon of Kettering Church, who had died a few months previously. The presence of the Lord was felt in the little gathering.

Long and earnestly they deliberated what the first step should be. They had no experience to guide them; they had neither funds nor influence; the one thing clear to them was the Lord's will that His Gospel should be made known to every creature under heaven. Before separating, they solemnly pledged themselves to God and to each other, to bear their part in an endeavour to send the Gospel to some part of the heathen world; the Society was constituted; a committee of five was appointed—Andrew Fuller (Secretary), John Ryland, John Sutcliff, Reynold Hogg (Treasurer), and William Carey, to which number Samuel Pearce was added shortly afterwards; lastly, a subscription was then and there made, amounting to £13 2*s.* 6*d.* No sooner was the subscription list filled up than Carey—whose name does not appear in that list—contributed himself,[1] declaring his readiness to embark for any part of the world that the Society might decide. And so, in that back-parlour in unpretending Kettering, was first heard a "sound" which has already "gone forth into all the earth."

The ardent zeal of Samuel Pearce, of Birmingham, had been leading him for some time "to preach much upon the promises of God concerning the conversion of the heathen nations," and, by his doing so, and always communicating any piece of information respecting the present state of missions, they soon imbibed the same

[1] The very theatrical story of his making offer of himself by stepping into the collection plate beside the money is destitute of foundation.

spirit. Now that a definite enterprise was launched, the preaching of Pearce began to bear its fruit; earnest-hearted friends came forward with free-will offerings; and "the surprising sum of £70" was forwarded from Birmingham to the Society. Other Churches followed the example, and the mission treasury began to fill.

CHAPTER III.

THE new Society had to justify its existence. It had been originated by a few young men who were scarcely known beyond their own parishes. The whole district which they represented might be surveyed from the top of a steeple. With a solitary exception, no minister or man of mark in London would look at the concern; and when a meeting was convened there to consider whether an auxiliary should be formed, an overwhelming majority carried the negative. Not improbably there was a tincture of jealousy against a movement of origin so obscure. London was London, and did not care to follow the lead of a handful of country nobodies, the chief among them a shoemaker. "When we began in 1792," says Fuller, "there was little or no respectability among us, not so much as a squire to sit in the chair, or an orator to address him with speeches. Hence good Dr. Stennett—(yea, and even Abraham Booth also)—advised the London ministers to stand aloof, and not commit themselves."[1]

[1] When he visited London, Carey was treated with cordial respect both by Stennett and Abraham Booth. He also made the

This Gamaliel-like policy of waiting to see was almost as discouraging as the contempt with which the very idea of a mission was scouted in other quarters. To state the idea was deemed sufficient exposure of its absurdity; while the missionaries who by-and-by went forth became a favourite target for wits and satirists, who did not perceive that their shafts were really aimed at a certain manger in Bethlehem. How it was with the country generally may be inferred from a debate which took place in the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, a few years later, on a proposal to establish a foreign mission. One member maintained that "to spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen nations" was "highly preposterous, inasmuch as it anticipates, nay, reverses the order of nature: men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truth;" and, singling out the untutored Indian or Otaheitan, he affirmed that Christianity would neither refine his morals nor ensure his happiness. It was in

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acquaintance of the venerable John Newton, "who advised him with the fidelity and tenderness of a father, and encouraged him to persevere in his purpose, despite all opposition." In a letter to Ryland in 1797, Newton says: "Mr. Carey has favoured me with a letter, which indeed I accept as a favour, and I mean to thank him for it. I trust my heart as cordially unites with him for the success of his mission as though I were a brother Baptist myself. I look up to such a man with reverence. He is more to me than bishop or archbishop; he is an apostle. May the Lord make all who undertake missions like-minded with Mr. Carey!"

this debate that Dr. John Erskine, now a venerable-looking man of seventy-five, rose to his feet, and, pointing with his forefinger to the Book which lay on the table, thrilled the assembly by calling, "*Moderator, rax me that Bible.*"[1] The Bible was handed to him, and, amidst death-like stillness, he read the account of Paul's reception at Melita, when "the barbarous people showed us no little kindness." Think you, he asked, that when Paul wrought his miracles at Malta, and was taken to be a god, he did not also preach Christ to the barbarians, and explain whose name it was through which such power was given unto men? He then reminded the assembly how the same apostle had affirmed that he was debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise; and urged upon them the apostle's example. The majority, however, fell in with those who thought it "highly inexpedient" and even "dangerous" to send forth missionaries, and who therefore gave the overtures recommending such action their "most serious disapprobation" and their "immediate and decisive opposition." The prevailing temper of the religious leaders of the period with respect to missionary enterprise may be fairly judged from this debate.

At the time when the Society was formed at Kettering, John Thomas, a ship-surgeon, who had been in India and had preached to the Hindoos, had just returned to England. He was a man with many blemishes and frailties; he was fickle, capricious, moody, at times

[1] Reach me that Bible.

ecstatic, bitter of tongue, and never able to guide his affairs with discretion: but he was also very warm-hearted, full of zeal, with singular skill in stating and enforcing the Gospel, and earnestly bent on serving his Redeemer. After having some experience of his ways, Carey writes: "He is a very holy man; but his faithfulness often degenerates into personality"—"a very good man, but only fit to live at sea, where his daily business is before him, and daily provision made for him"—"a man of sterling worth, but perhaps of the most singular make of any man in the world." While in India, without any knowledge of what was passing in Carey's mind, Thomas had opened correspondence with Abraham Booth and Dr. Stennett on the subject of an Indian mission; and, soon after his arrival in England, hearing of the Northamptonshire movement, he wrote to Carey, and gave him some account of what had been already done in Bengal, and particularly of the prospects at Malda. The letter was read in committee, and Fuller was directed to make all necessary inquiries, as to "character, principles, abilities, and success," in order to decide whether a combination of effort were desirable. The result of the inquiries was on the whole satisfactory.

On the 9th of January, 1793, a meeting of committee was held, others being present, when it was concluded that an open door was set before them in India; that it was desirable to unite with Thomas; and that the Society should endeavour to send out a fellow-labourer

with him in spring. That evening Carey again expressed his willingness to go. Before the meeting closed, Thomas unexpectedly entered the room; Carey sprang to meet him—"and they fell on each other's neck and wept." Thomas made a full disclosure of his pecuniary embarrassments, from which it appeared that he was deeply, if not hopelessly, in debt; but he showed himself so ingenuous and frank that he quite won the confidence of the committee; and, after prolonged conference, it was resolved that Carey and he should be sent out to Bengal together.

Immediately after this meeting, Carey gave notice to the Church at Leicester of his intention to leave them in March. His state of mind is seen in these words, addressed to his father: "To be devoted like a sacrifice to holy uses is the great business of a Christian. . . . I consider myself as devoted to the service of God alone, and now I am about to realize my professions." The Church acquiesced in his decision with mingled sorrow and joy. This entry occurs in the Church-book, under date 24th March, 1793: "Mr. Carey our minister left Leicester to go on a Mission to the East Indies, to take and propagate the Gospel among those Idolatrous and Superstitious Heathens. This is inserted to shew his Love to his poor, miserable Fellow-Creatures: in this we concur[d] with him, though it is at the Expence of losing one whom we love as our own souls."

A succession of unexpected difficulties now arose. One was the extreme aversion of Mrs. Carey to what

she regarded as worse than a fool's errand. She did not sympathise with her husband in his views; she was constitutionally timid; the proposed undertaking appeared to her to be attended with all kinds of danger, if not with absolute ruin, to her family; she could not go immediately, and she declared that she would never go with her own consent. In these circumstances, feeling that he "could not now draw back without guilt on his soul," Carey resolved to take his eldest son, Felix, with him —leaving the others to follow by-and-by, or returning to take them out once a footing was established. It was indeed usual for mercantile and military men to leave their families in England, during their absence in the East; but it was felt that this was very undesirable for missionaries, if it could possibly be avoided.

The next difficulty was the want of sufficient funds to launch the undertaking. Carey's idea was "that the first expense might be the whole;" and that after conveyance to the country to be evangelized, and receiving "a fair start" there, the missionaries should afterwards provide for themselves as God might enable them: but there was not even money enough to pay the passage. It became necessary, therefore, to proceed with energy, if the departure were to take place that spring. Accordingly Thomas was sent out to plead the mission cause, and proceeded as far as Bristol. Carey went to the north for the same purpose. In the course of his journeying he met William Ward, printer, his future colleague at Serampore, to whom he said, "By-and-by we shall

want *you*"—a remark that Ward never forgot. Fuller himself went up to London, and canvassed the members of the Churches there from door to door, meeting much coldness and many rebuffs, but finally succeeding. It is a touching picture, that of the strong, stern, great-souled man—foot-sore and disappointed—turning aside into a back-lane to weep unseen.

The financial difficulty being surmounted, a farewell meeting was held in Leicester on the 20th of March, to commend the missionaries to the Divine safeguard. It was a meeting unprecedented in England, and was characterized by profound solemnity. When the first Crusade was proclaimed, the multitude broke into a loud, tumultuous shout, *God wills it.* In the Leicester conventicle that day there was a calmness almost awful. The forenoon was spent in prayer. In the afternoon both Mr. Thomas and Mr. Hogg spoke to the people. Fuller addressed the missionaries from the words, "Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." The powerful frame trembled with emotion; the grave, stern face glowed as he spoke. "The preface," he said, "is sweet; *Peace be unto you,* as if He had said, All is well as to the past, and all shall be well as to the future. The commission itself is sweet. Nothing could well be more grateful to those who loved Christ than to be employed by Him on such an errand, and to have such an example to imitate." Then he drew attention to some of the points of likeness between the enterprise in which they were embarking and the mission

of Christ Himself; referring to the object in view, the directions for their guidance, the difficulties and trials to be encountered, and the promises of support and of a glorious reward. "Go then," he said, "my dear brethren, stimulated by these prospects. We shall meet again. Crowns of glory await you and us. Each, I trust, will be addressed at the last day by our great Redeemer, 'Come, ye blessed of My Father;—these were hungry, and you fed them; athirst, and you gave them drink; in prison, and you visited them;—enter ye into the joy of your Lord.' Amen." When the assembly broke up, the dispersing groups were silent, or spoke in the subdued tones of solemn awe.

At this point a new and serious difficulty arose: How were the missionaries to reach their destination? Those were the days of jealously guarded monopoly; India was the "preserve" of the East India Company, and to go without their license was to run the risk of being forbidden to land, or being ordered off by the next ship. Formed into a corporation under Elizabeth, with a charter, dated the last day of the year 1600, giving them the exclusive right to trade in the Indian seas, the Company had been gradually becoming more and more powerful, till at length they were practically supreme. They were in idea a company of merchants, and what they sought was not the moral and religious welfare of India, but the advancement of their own interest. Having now become the despots of the country, they held themselves not simply "neutral" with respect to the

Gospel, but they feared its promulgation as dangerous to their supremacy. If that fire were kindled, it might burn their house down. After fruitless negotiations with the view of obtaining a license, there seemed no course open but that the missionaries should proceed without one, and run all risks. Accordingly a passage was taken for them in the *Earl of Oxford*, Indiaman, and the party went on board. For nearly two months the ship lay at anchor in the Solent waiting for convoy, as the Channel swarmed with privateers. While thus detained, the captain was warned in a letter, signed *Verax*, that an "information" would be lodged against him for having on board "an unlicensed person;" and consequently Carey, Thomas, and another passenger were forced to remove their baggage and go ashore, Mrs. Thomas and her daughter proceeding. The sum of £150 was returned to the missionaries.

At first it seemed the ruin of the enterprise, but in the end it turned out for the best. An opportunity soon afterwards presented itself of proceeding in a Danish ship, the *Kron Princessa Maria*, manned by Danes and Norwegians, and bound for Serampore; the additional passage-money was obtained, and Mrs. Carey now joined her husband, with her infant son, little Jabez, and the rest of the children, her sister accompanying her. They set sail on the 13th of June, 1793, just at the height of the Reign of Terror in France, and speedily they lost sight of the white cliffs of England, which they were nevermore to look upon. The voyage, though at times

stormy, was prosperous. Poor Mrs. Carey had many fears and troubles; "she was like Lot's wife till we reached the Cape; but, ever since, it seems so far to look back to Piddington that she turns her hopes and wishes to our safe arrival in Bengal." They reached Calcutta, all well, on the 11th of November. As they approached, and the "faint verge of green" turned into belts and groves of cocoa-nut trees, this was Carey's earnest longing: "O may my heart be prepared for our work, and the kingdom of Christ be set up among the poor Hindoos!" So he entered India, strong in the might of weakness that trusts in God.

What were the thoughts of friends at home, now that they were committed to the great enterprise, Fuller discloses. After the departure of the missionaries, he says, "we had time for reflection. In reviewing the events of a few preceding months we were much impressed; we could scarcely believe that such a number of impediments had, in so short a time, been removed. The fear and trembling which had possessed us at the outset had insensibly given way to hope and joy. Upborne by the magnitude of the object, and by the encouraging promises of God, we had found difficulties subside as we approached them, and ways opened beyond all our expectations. The thought of having done something towards enlarging the boundaries of our Saviour's kingdom, and of rescuing poor heathens and Mahommedans from under Satan's yoke, rejoiced our hearts. We were glad also to see the people of God offering so

willingly; some leaving their country; others pouring in their property; and all uniting in prayers to Heaven for a blessing. A new bond of union was furnished between distant ministers and Churches. Some, who had backslidden from God, were restored; and others, who had long been poring over their unfruitfulness, and questioning the reality of their personal religion, having their attention directed to Christ and His kingdom, lost their fears, and found that peace which, in other pursuits, they had sought in vain. Christians of different denominations discovered a common bond of affection; and instead of always dwelling on things wherein they differed, found their account in uniting in those wherein they were agreed. In short, our hearts were enlarged; and if no other good had arisen from the undertaking than the effect produced upon our own minds, and the minds of Christians in our country, it were more than equal to the expense."

A glance may be taken at what had been done for India before Carey's time. It is unnecessary to refer to the work initiated by Xavier; it had not come to much; his successors had converted the heathen by becoming heathen themselves. But in 1705 Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschau, educated under Franke at Halle, the stronghold of "pietism," had been sent forth to India as missionaries by Frederick IV., King of Denmark. Landing at Tranquebar, their first business was to acquire the language; and as soon as they could hold communication with the people, they

began, Bible in hand, to tell the glad tidings. Converts were slowly won, chiefly from the lowest classes.[1] Perceiving the hindrance that arose from the converts becoming "outcast," they endeavoured to provide means of livelihood for them by the establishment of native manufactories. They began also to translate the Scriptures, and to institute means of education. In 1715 they had printed the New Testament in the Tamil language. Ziegenbalg, who appears to have been a man of great zeal and simplicity of character, died young; and Plutschau was forced home by broken health; but others took up their work, and carried it on with much assiduity and considerable outward success. In 1726, aided by the Christian Knowledge Society of England, the mission was extended to Madras, Cuddalore, and Trichinopoly. The great name of Christian Frederick Schwartz now appears, who laboured in Southern India till 1798. It is a striking picture that we have of him, living on an income of £50 a-year, dressed in dimity dyed black, eating rice and vegetables cooked after the native fashion, his dwelling an old room just large enough for himself and his bed, devoting himself with the utmost

[1] In what sort of soil these old missionaries had to sow their seed may be seen from a single incident. "I was speaking to some heathens, when one of them pointed at an old man whose head was bent almost to the ground, and said: That man must be a very great sinner; he is so old, and yet he cannot die. I spoke to the old man, on God's willingness to save him. He only laughed and said: *Give me some tobacco; I want nothing more.*"

simplicity and enthusiasm to the work of making known the name of Jesus Christ. A man of sound common-sense, of winning manner, of intense and holy devotion, as courageous as John the Baptist, his own life a pattern of what he called men to. "He had a great deal of love to Christ," said a native Christian, describing him, "and used to preach about the love of Christ till he wept." Till lately, there were very old men in Southern India who remembered his snow-white hair and benignant countenance. When he died, in 1798, a wail of lamentation arose from multitudes who had loved him. Numbers came from different parts of the land to throw themselves weeping upon his grave.

While Schwartz and his coadjutors were labouring in Southern India, John Zachariah Kiernander, a Swede, was at work in Bengal. He too had been educated at Halle. When Cuddalore was surrendered to the French in 1758, he removed to Calcutta at the invitation of Clive, who, though not professedly a religious man, saw no harm in the introduction of the Gospel among the natives, or thought he might be able to play it, as a piece, in a political game of chess. In Calcutta, Kiernander instituted a native school; he preached to all who would come and listen to him; he "built a church," largely at his own cost; he gathered in some few converts; and he manifested both simplicity and benevolence of spirit. His views of the Gospel, however, seem to have been hazy; and he never mastered either Bengali or Hindustani so as to speak to the

people in their own tongue. Practically, his work made only the slightest impression. After his death an attempt was made to supply his place by the aid of the Christian Knowledge Society; but the attempt proved a failure; the Society, it was affirmed, "could give anything to the good work of evangelizing the heathen except a man to preach the Gospel." Beyond what was done by English chaplains, by a somewhat feeble Moravian effort, and by the personal character and influence of individual Christian men, this was substantially all that had been hitherto done to bring India to the feet of Christ. There was a ground of truth for the remark of Captain William Bruce to Southey, "that if our empire in India were overthrown, the only monuments that would remain of us would be broken bottles and corks."

CHAPTER IV.

THE missionaries were allowed to enter Calcutta without obstruction—indeed without notice, so obscure were they—as Paul and Silas entered Philippi, bringing salvation to Europe. They had as yet no definite plans for the future, but waited on providential guidance. Their first step was to secure a house in which the two families might live together; and then Carey sat down to the study of Bengali, which he had begun on the voyage, while Thomas undertook the housekeeping—not without forebodings on Carey's part.

Ram Ram Bosu was engaged as Bengali teacher. This man had apparently been brought under the power of the Gospel five years previously; he then assured Thomas that he had "found Jesus Christ to be the answerer of his prayers;" he had composed a Gospel-hymn,[1] "the first ever seen or heard of in the Bengalese

[1] A single verse of this hymn, "imitated in English," will indicate its quality:—

"Who besides can man recover,
O who else restore to light?

language;" and there had seemed good reason to expect that he would soon avow himself a Christian. Since that time, however, he had gone back, and "bowed to idols." Hearing of the arrival of the missionaries, he came to welcome them, and seemed full of penitence for his grievous fall. Under his tuition, Carey made rapid progress in the language.

Calcutta was an expensive place to live in; and the scanty funds rapidly melted away. In the course of a few weeks it was deemed advisable to remove to cheaper quarters in the old Portuguese town of Bandel, where it was hoped they would find opportunities of making the Gospel known to the natives. The prospect at first seemed favourable, but a short trial proved it otherwise, and by the end of the year they returned to Calcutta, Thomas hoping to find employment as a surgeon, and Carey occupying a garden house at Manicktolla, a north-eastern suburb of the city, indebted for its poor shelter to a wealthy native. His distress was extreme. The house was small and ill-ventilated; he was a stranger in a strange land, without money or friends; illness was beginning to invade his family; and, added to all, were the bitter upbraidings of his wife for having brought them into such hopeless misery. His connection with Thomas, whose failings were better known in Calcutta

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Who but Christ, that heavenly Lover,
Save from everlasting night?
Who besides Him
Save from sin's eternal night?"

than his excellencies, did him no good. Thus, when he called on the Rev. David Brown, a man who afterwards became a firm friend, "he received me," says Carey, "with cool politeness. I staid near an hour with him; found him a very sensible man; but a marked disgust prevails, on both sides, between him and Mr. Thomas. He carried himself as greatly my superior, and I left him without his having so much as asked me to take any refreshment, though he knew I had walked five miles in the heat of the sun."[1] There seemed at this time no break in the darkness by which the mission was environed.

At length, after a period of great anxiety, Carey obtained a small supply of money from Thomas, and left with his family and Ram Bosu, his munshi, for Dehatta, forty miles east from Calcutta, where Ram Bosu's uncle was zemindar. Dehatta lay on the borders of the Sunderbunds, a vast tract of marsh and jungle, forming the southernmost portion of the Gangetic Delta, intersected by numberless sluggish streams which interlaced in all directions, and comprising an area of nearly seven thousand square miles. The foundation of the land, a hundred and twenty feet below the surface, consists of a bed of semi-fluid mud. Residence there was like living

[1] He gives an account of a similar interview with Claudius Buchanan five years later at Barrackpore: "He at first began to examine me as if he had been my suffragan—asked me what was become of *that chap Thomas*, and a number of officious questions; but afterwards was rather more agreeable."

in a vapour-bath. The journey from Calcutta had to be made by boat, at times skirting jungle-forest, that abounded with the lairs of tigers and other wild beasts, and that sent forth deadly miasma. When they reached Dehatta, provisions for only a single day more remained. A friend, however, was raised up for them in the hour of need. This was Mr. Short, superintendent of salt works in the neighbourhood, a man of open and generous disposition. With true "Indian hospitality" he received the whole party into his house, and insisted on their remaining there till otherwise provided for. Land was easily procured in the neighbourhood, and Carey soon obtained a few acres at Hashnabad, across the Jubona, and set to work immediately to erect huts for his family after the fashion of the district.

"The walls," he writes, detailing his plan, "will be made of mats, fastened to wooden posts, and the roof formed of bamboos, and thatched. . . . Although the country is an excellent soil, it has been lately almost deserted, on account of the tigers and other beasts of prey which infest the place; but these are all afraid of a gun, and will soon be expelled. . . . We shall have all the necessaries of life here, except bread, for which rice must be a substitute. . . . When my house is built, I shall have more leisure than at present, with daily opportunities of conversing with the natives, and pursuing the work of the mission. Here is certainly a large field for usefulness; much larger than you can conceive. . . . The part where I am building my

house is within a quarter of a mile of the impenetrable forests called Sunderbunds; and though quite deserted before, through fear of tigers, the people are now returning, encouraged by my example, and we shall soon have three or four thousand in our vicinity. . . . With respect to personal safety, I am just the same here as in England. My health was never better. The climate, though hot, is tolerable; but, attended as I am with difficulties, I would not renounce my undertaking for all the world."

Much has been done of late years under British rule to reclaim the Sunderbunds, and to render them less insalubrious. The measures that are in operation date from the appointment of Mr. Henckell, the first English judge and magistrate of Jessore, in 1781. The work to be accomplished was of the most difficult nature. For the most part a swampy forest, the haunt of tigers and other wild beasts, overspread the region. The trees, some of them of great size, were interlaced, both roots and branches, in the most intricate way. There was, besides, a low and almost impenetrable brushwood or "bush" covering the ground, which had to be slowly hacked away, bit by bit; and after a portion had been cleared, it required constant attention lest it should spring back into jungle again. Mr. Henckell originated a scheme, which was sanctioned by Government, under which allotments of land were granted, on favourable terms, to persons who undertook the work of reclamation; and from that period the enterprise has made

progress in spite of all difficulties, so that now a very large area is under rice, and the health rate has risen considerably. But toward the close of last century the whole region was little else than an unreclaimed and pestilential wilderness, in which, or in the neighbourhood of which, it would have been almost certain death for an unacclimatized European family to take up their dwelling.[1]

It was well that this locality was soon abandoned: it was not a good mission centre, and almost inevitably it would have been fatal to life. The abandonment came about in this way. Mr. Thomas had been reconciled to his former friend, Mr. Udny, from whom he had parted in anger before he went to England. Mr. Udny now offered him the management of an indigo factory at Moypaldiggy, near Malda, which offer he thankfully accepted; and through the representations which he made, a similar appointment at Mudnabatty, sixteen miles distant, was offered to Carey.

On accepting the offer and removing thither, Carey wrote home to England that he would require no further

[1] About 1783, Mr. Henckell established three market-places in different parts of the Sunderbunds, for the sale of produce, chiefly firewood, and for the purchase of provisions and other necessaries. At one of these places, while the work of clearing was going on, the native agent acting under Mr. Henckell was much troubled with the depredations of tigers; so he called the place *Henckellganj*, hoping that out of respect and dread for the judge's name tigers would no longer molest him. The surveyors, unaware of the origin of the name, and guided by the local pronunciation, give it in their maps as *Hingulgunge*.

support from the Society, and that the salary destined for him should be devoted to some other effort; only he wished them to send out a few implements of husbandry and a yearly assortment of seeds, for which he promised that he would regularly remit money. At the same time he assured them that it would be his joy to stand in the same relation to them as if he needed supplies from them, and to maintain the same correspondence with them.

His letter produced a somewhat painful impression in the committee. Even Mr. Sutcliff was afraid that he was beginning to look back after putting his hand to the plough, and confesses, "It has been an occasion of many thoughts and fears." The committee resolved, "That though, on the whole, we cannot disapprove of the conduct of our brethren in their late engagement, yet, considering the frailty of human nature in the best of men, a letter of serious and affectionate caution be addressed to them." No doubt the committee were moved by a sincere jealousy lest a spirit of worldliness should creep in upon the missionaries; a little also was conceded, as Fuller confesses, "to the Londoners;" but when it is remembered that from the outset the missionaries were expected, if possible, to support themselves, and, further, that the whole amount transmitted to India for three years (May, 1793, to May, 1796) to support the mission families and carry on the work was only £200, the resolution will appear scarcely called for.

The letter of "serious and affectionate caution" was

written, and in due time received. How it hurt may be seen from this entry in Carey's journal: "One part, I acknowledge, rather surprised me: I mean that respecting our engaging in employment for our support. I always understood that the Society recommended it. . . . To vindicate my own spirit or conduct I should be very averse. It is a constant maxim with me that, if my conduct will not vindicate itself, it is not worth vindicating; but we really thought we were acting in conformity with the universal wishes of the Society. Whether we are indolent or laborious, or whether 'the spirit of the missionary is swallowed up in the pursuits of the merchant,' it becomes not me to say; but our labours will speak for us. I only say that, after my family's obtaining a bare allowance, my whole income (and some months much more) goes for the purposes of the Gospel. . . . I am indeed poor, and shall always be so, till the Bible is published in Bengali and Hindustani, and the people want no further instruction."

His secular employment required pretty close attention for three months out of the twelve; the rest of the year he had more leisure. This leisure was devoted in part to the translation of the Scriptures into Bengali, and in part to itinerant preaching. His district comprehended about two hundred villages, scattered amid jungle-patches over the monotonous plain. Among these he was continually going about that he might publish the Gospel; occasionally extending his journeys nearly a hundred miles up country, where probably no European, and

certainly no herald of salvation, had ever been before.[1] In travelling—which was by river—he used two small boats, one to sleep in and the other for cooking his food; while he himself mostly trudged on foot from village to village. A day's journey might vary from ten to twenty miles, according to the opportunities he had of speaking with the people. On Lord's Day the gatherings sometimes numbered nearly five hundred persons. His hopes of winning some were often excited, and as often disappointed.

"Poor souls!" he exclaims, "they have need of the Gospel indeed. Their superstitions are so numerous, and all their thoughts of God so very light, that they only consider Him as a sort of plaything; while cheating, juggling, and lying are esteemed no sins in them." There was not mere stolidity of mind, but it seemed almost as if a conscience had to be created in them, so difficult was it to make them conceive of sin.[2] As to

[1] In 1797 he made a tour in company with Thomas to the borders of Bhotan, whose stupendous snow-clad mountains could be seen from his district. They exchanged presents with the Súbá, and for some time afterwards a friendly correspondence was maintained. Carey never ceased to long and hope for the establishment of a mission there.

[2] Thus on one occasion a man inquired how he was to pray. Carey asked him what he should do if he carried a petition to the Governor for pardon. He replied that he should look very sorrowful, and tell a great many lies to excuse himself; and that so he should do if he went to God. He declared himself in favour of lying, and even thieving. Who could wonder? Their gods were no better.

responsibility, they held themselves to be machines, on which God acts in a physical manner, so that they were not accountable for their dispositions or actions. If one of them, for example, were detected in theft or some other crime, he would excuse himself by saying that his forehead was bad. "In a conversation which I had with a man some time ago on this subject, he roundly asserted that he had never committed a sin in his life; for though many of his actions were unjustifiable, yet it was not he that committed them, but God." This way of thinking he found almost universally prevalent.

Another hindrance to the Gospel was the mingled servility and avarice of the people generally. A man would appear deeply interested; and at length it would be discovered, after months of deception, that all he wanted was money. Hence it was extremely difficult to ascertain the sincerity of those who came forward as inquirers, or to form any true judgment respecting their pretensions.

In the face of these and similar difficulties it was hard to labour on in a hopeful spirit. "I feel often tempted," he says, "to preach as if I thought the hearts of men were invulnerable, which is not only dishonouring and undervaluing the power and grace of God, who has promised to be with His ministers to the end, but also tends to destroy all my energies, and to produce a stupid formality in my discourses." "I am almost grown callous by these continued sights, and all that which ought to affect a missionary's heart with tenderness. I see

their abominations and their ignorance, and I sometimes think them to be past recovery. I charge them with stupidity in my mind, and then sit down in guilty discouragement. . . . Yet I cannot think that our entering in among this people will be in vain. We may perhaps be only forerunners to prepare the way before others. At any rate the promise of God will not, cannot, fail. I will go in His strength."

The discouragements, of which he speaks so feelingly, did not make him slack in service. "I am," he says, "perfectly at home as a missionary, and rejoice that God has given me this great honour, to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. I would not change my station for all the society in England, much as I prize it; nor, indeed, for all the wealth in the world. May I but be useful in laying the foundation of the Church of Christ in India, I desire no greater reward, and can receive no higher honour." Later on, he says, "If, like David, I am only an instrument of gathering materials, and another build the house, I trust my joy will not be the less."

As a specimen of his manner of dealing with the people, he tells how, on a particular occasion, he spoke to them about Christ being a blessing—sent to bless by turning men from their iniquities. He pointed out the superiority of the Gospel to all other writings, and Christ to all pretended saviours, because trust in Him resulted in a turning from iniquity; "but," said he, appealing to the worshippers of idols, "there is not a man of you yet

turned from his iniquity. There are among you liars, thieves, whoremongers, and men filled with deceit. And as you were last year, so you are this, not any more holy; nor can you ever be so till you throw off your wicked worship and wicked practices, and embrace the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." This manner of speaking did not affront them, and many were willing to hear. Still, no one seemed ready to accept the Gospel; "the Brahmins fear to lose their gain; the higher castes, their honour; and the poor tremble at the vengeance of their *debtas*."[1]

The whole management and arrangements of the factory he sought to conduct on Christian principles, believing that by the exercise of righteousness, truth, and kindliness he would greatly commend the Gospel and further its extension. He believed that it could be extended only by means in harmony with its own spirit. Hence he carefully avoided, on the one hand, everything that looked like bribing men to become Christians, by holding out the prospect of worldly advantage; and, on the other hand, everything of the nature of coercion or pressure.[2] Conscience he held absolutely sacred. Thus, when one of the workmen employed by him made an idol of clay, representing Sarosuadi, the

[1] Demi-gods.

[2] When it was put to him, on one occasion, "Don't you think it would be wrong to force the Hindoos to become Christians?" his answer was prompt and decisive: "The thing is impossible; we may force men to be hypocrites, but no power on earth can force men to become Christian."

patroness of learning, which he proposed to consecrate at her next annual feast, "I might have used authority (he says), and have forbidden it; but I thought that would be persecution; I therefore talked seriously with the man to-day, and tried to convince him of the sinfulness of such a thing, as well as of its foolishness; he acquiesced in all I said, and promised to throw his work away." This conviction of the sacredness of conscience, even in a heathen, determined his whole method of dealing with the people.

Mudnabatty was an insignificant village of two or three dozen mud-walled cottages, most of them containing only a single apartment, the inhabitants, employed in cultivating the soil, being miserably poor and ignorant. It lay near a river bank, about a day's journey north-east of the ancient capital of Bengal, with its ruined walls and arches, and its once stately palaces, now the kennels of jackals. The low grounds around the village were annually flooded by the rains, and converted into a pestiferous marsh, only the higher ridges standing clear. Numerous other villages, with patches of jungle, dotted the wearisome plain in all directions. It soon turned out that the spot was insalubrious in the extreme. One "dear little boy" died, sorely wept by his parents; and, to add to the trial, it was with the utmost difficulty that any one could be induced to aid in making a coffin or digging a grave, for fear of losing caste. Carey himself was reduced to the last extremity with malarious fever, returning with slow and feeble steps from the very gates

of death; while his poor wife was smitten with incurable melancholy, and had to be kept under restraint to her dying day.

It was not until the middle of May, 1795, that the first letters from England arrived. The long silence was depressing, and was only relieved by occasional meetings between the missionaries, when they took counsel together respecting the work of the Gospel, and prayed. The arrival of the letters verified Solomon's proverb, "As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country."

His journal and letters during this period present a vivid picture of his inner life. They exhibit a singular intermingling of dejection, self-upbraiding, patience, devotion, and hope. The solitude of his religious life is reflected especially in his journal, which indicates excessive introspection, natural enough in his circumstances, but not calculated to promote either his happiness or his usefulness.

The following extracts range from 1793 to 1799. If the terms, "insensibility," "coldness," "forgetfulness," "pride," "spiritual stupidity," seem to occur too frequently, it must be remembered how conscientious he was, and how he shrank from everything like self-laudation.

"Was very much dejected all day. Have no relish for anything in the world, yet am swallowed up in its cares. Towards evening had a pleasant view of the all-sufficiency of God and the stability of His promises,

which much relieved my mind; and as I walked home in the night, was enabled to roll my soul and all my cares in some measure on God."

"Have reason to bless God for a day of quietness and calmness, though I must mourn over my barrenness and the strange stupidity of my heart. I feel pleasure in the work and ways of God, but have a disobedient soul. When will the Lord take full possession of my mind, and abide there for ever?"

"In the evening had much relief in reading over Mr. Fuller's charge to us at Leicester. The affection there manifested almost overcame my spirits, for I have not been accustomed to sympathy of late. Oh! I think again, I am not only ready to be offered, so as to suffer anything, but, if I be offered upon the service and sacrifice of faith, I joy and rejoice in it. Oh! what a portion is God, and what a shame that I am not always satisfied with Him!"

"Still I mourn my barrenness and the foolish wanderings of my mind. Surely I shall never be of any use among the heathen, I feel so very little of the life of godliness in my own soul. It seems as if all the sweetness that I have formerly felt were gone; neither am I distressed, but a guilty calm is spread over my soul, and I seem to spend all my time, and make no progress towards the desired port, either in a public or private way. I am full of necessities, yet am not distressed; I want wisdom to know how to direct all my concerns, and fortitude and affectionate desire for the glory of

God, and faith and holiness in all its branches; then my soul would be like a well-watered garden, but now it is a mere jungle."

"This day I feel much remains of my past carelessness and absorption in the affairs of the world, though somewhat more of an inclination to the things of God than for some time back. I hope my soul, like a pendulum, though it swings to and fro about the necessary things of the world, yet can rest nowhere but in its centre, God; and I trust I feel that there is an inclination to rest there. Oh, when shall I serve God uninterruptedly, and pursue everything in a subserviency to His Divine will, and in such a manner as to commune with Him in everything I do?'

"With all the cares of life and its sorrows, yet I find that a life of communion with God is sufficient to yield consolation in the midst of all; and even to produce a holy joy in the soul, which shall make it to triumph over all affliction. I have never yet repented of any sacrifice that I have made for the Gospel, but find that consolation of mind which can come from God alone."

"Still a continuance of the same tranquil state of mind. Outwardly the sky lowers, but within I feel—

'The soul's calm sunshine and the heart-felt joy.'

Hope more strongly operates as the time of my being able to speak for Christ approaches; and I feel like a long-confined prisoner whose chains are knocked off in order to his liberation."

"This has been a time of abundant mercy to me in every respect. My soul has been strengthened and enlightened; I only want a heart endued with gratitude and love. I want to be filled with a sense of the mercy of God, and to feel my heart warmed with a lively regard to Him and all His ways."

"This morning felt somewhat barren, but in the evening had much pleasure and freedom in preaching to the natives at Mudnabatty. These were more attentive also than those at Sadamahl, and I doubt not but God has a work to do here. It has been His general way to begin among the poor and despised, and to pass by those who imagine themselves to be wise; but here we have only poor and illiterate people, and scarcely any of those who value themselves on account of being of the higher caste."

"I have continual reason to complain on account of the barrenness of my soul towards God. Surely no one who has received such uncommon favours can be so ungrateful as myself. I have need of more spiritual life and a more evangelical turn of mind. I want true faith, and in a great degree; and I have great need of an aptness or readiness to teach. Indeed, I always was very defective in this; and now I need more of this spirit than ever I did in my life. I have often thought, on this very account, that I never was fit for the Gospel ministry; but how much less fit for the work of a missionary among the heathen! Oh, may God give me His Holy Spirit to furnish me for every good work!"

"I believe my fault is this—magnifying every trouble, and forgetting the multitude of mercies that I am daily loaded with. I have been reading Flavel on Providence lately; but under every new shadow of a trial I find myself to be a learner, and even to have made no new advances in the necessary science of improving all mercies to promote thankfulness, and all trials to promote patience."

Page after page might be filled with similar extracts, but these are sufficient. They illustrate the piety, humility, and conscientiousness of the man; but they also indicate a tendency to unwise self-scrutiny. Much was no doubt due to the solitariness of his life. Besides, this way of looking inward and registering moods and experiences—as we register the daily temperature, or the height of the barometer—was a religious habit of the time. Fuller says to him, with great sagacity: "I could as often have made similar complaints in return; but let us rather pray for each other, and strengthen each other's hands in the Lord. It is wonderful that God should do anything by such poor, grovelling sinners as we are. One thing, however, is manifested by it—that the work is entirely His own; and if we should reach the kingdom of God at last, it must be by great grace. God has honoured us not a little by employing us in this great work; but as the honour does not belong to us, we must return it. The crowns do not seem to fit our heads, therefore they must be cast at the feet of Jesus."

A reader of his letters during this period will be struck

with the many-sidedness of the man, and the broad views he took of all that concerned the welfare of India. His observations range over the arts of the people, their manufactures, their agriculture, their buildings, their dress, their manners and customs, their language, literature, laws, religion, and social life, the natural history of the country, and whatever else was fitted to make India better known to Englishmen. These letters, if collected together, would form a kind of museum on a small scale, showing what Bengal was a century ago.

We come upon an occasional jotting among his private papers at this period like the following: "Arose and retired into my garden for prayer and meditation"; again, "I sometimes walk in my garden and try to pray to God; and if I pray at all, it is in the solitude of a walk"; and again, "*Lord's Day.* Arose about sunrise, and, according to my usual practice, walked into my garden for meditation and prayer, till the servants came to family worship." This habit of quietly musing and praying, as he wandered in his garden among his plants and flowers, continued even in his busiest times to the close of his life.

In dealing with the natives, he found it "easy to confound their arguments, but their *hearts* still remained the same." Notwithstanding, he says, "I am far from being discouraged; and, should I never succeed, yet I am resolved in the strength of the Lord Jesus to live and die persisting in this work, and never to give it up but with my liberty or life. The worth of souls, the pleasure of

the work itself, and, above all, the increase of the Redeemer's kingdom, are with me motives sufficient, and more than sufficient, to determine me to die in the work that I have undertaken."

Before 1796 ended he was joined at Mudnabatty by John Fountain, a young man who had been a member of the Church at Eagle Street, London, and had been well recommended to the committee. His arrival was a pleasant surprise. The missionaries could now sing the praises of God "in three parts."

On the 30th of December Carey wrote a letter full of Christian affection to the Church in Leicester, recalling the communion he had enjoyed with them, and urging them individually to be faithful to the Lord, whose they were. "Consider yourselves," he says, "as at the disposal of God, and never go reluctantly about anything which *He* commands you, who so willingly laid down His life to deliver you from the lowest hell." He mentions that there are now *five* persons united in Christian fellowship where he is; and he requests a dismission "to the Church of Christ meeting at Mudnabatty, or elsewhere, Bengal." In due time they complied with his request, and also inserted the letter of dismission in their Church-book, "to preserve to posterity the memory of an event so pleasing and important as the planting of a Gospel-church in Asia." The letter runs: "The Church of Christ meeting in Hervey Lane, Leicester, England, in Europe, to the Church of Christ of the same faith and order, meeting in Mudnabatty, Hindostan,

Asia, sendeth Christian salutation. Dear Brethren, As our Brother, William Carey, formerly our beloved Pastor, requests a dismission from us to you, we comply. We earnestly desire that he may be very useful among you, both as a member and as a minister. Though few in number, may you be as a handful of genuine corn in Hindostan, which may fill all Asia with evangelical fruit. The Lord has already done great things for you, whereof you have cause to be glad. We hope you will make it your great concern to prize and conform to the glorious Gospel and its holy institutions. That ye may be filled with spiritual Light and Life and Joy, and abound in the practice of all the fruits of righteousness, is the ardent prayer of your affectionate brethren in Christ Jesus." The letter is signed, "in behalf of the whole," by Benjamin Cave, pastor, three deacons, and eight members.

From a variety of causes, chiefly the badly chosen situation of the works and the frequent floods, the indigo factory did not prosper. Carey meanwhile was revolving in his mind the project of a mission settlement on the Moravian model. He proposed in a letter to Fuller that seven or eight mission families should be planted down together, in a number of little straw houses, in a line or square; that there should be a common stock, and no private possessions; that there should be fixed rules as to eating, drinking, working, learning, and worship, with stewards to preside over the management; and that native converts should be considered their

equals, and all come under the same regulations. The advantages which he saw in such a scheme were economy, proper distribution of labour, and the testimony of example to the heathen round about. Were his proposal agreed to, and Mudnabatty selected as the seat of the mission, he was prepared to throw his income and utensils immediately into the common stock. The idea in his mind was to establish in the midst of the heathen population a little Christian "community," whence the light of the Gospel should radiate into the region round about. They should live by their own industry; they should have no slaughter-weapons among them; they should exemplify the new life before the eyes of their heathen neighbours; they should tell forth in a thousand ways the glad tidings of redeeming love; church, school, hospital, seminary of industrial arts, should be conjoined; those who became "outcast" for Christ's sake should find a home with the community; and young men, trained among them, would become missionaries to their countrymen far and near.

Fuller pondered the scheme, and thought it might do. "As to your plan of uniting families," he says to Carey, "we have nothing to object. The experience of the Moravians seems to sanction it. But I suppose you could not carry it into execution without some active, amiable woman amongst them. Do whatever your own judgment dictates, all circumstances considered. So advises the Society. As to the place, whether about Nuddea or northward, for the reasons you have given

we incline to the latter. You speak sometimes of being obliged to quit the Company's territories. Should you be safer on the territories of any of the Eastern princes? You must judge of this, and indeed in all these things you must ultimately judge for yourself. We have great confidence in your prudence." Thus the matter rested for the time, till by-and-by determination of it was made in a manner that neither the Society at home nor the missionaries anticipated.

In the meanwhile Carey began to take steps toward printing his Bengali translation of the New Testament, now completed. A press, constructed of wood, was procured in Calcutta at the cost of £40, and was gifted to the mission by Mr. Udny. It was set up in a side room in the factory at Mudnabatty, and was visited and inspected by great numbers of natives, who looked upon it as a European idol. Types were also cast, and it was hoped that shortly the whole of the Scriptures might be thrown off.

In his preaching excursions he was frequently led into arguments on religious subjects. On one such occasion, as he sat under a tree near a large temple of Juggernaut, after discussion with various persons, a young Brahmin came up to him and hoped he would not be offended, but "I will sit down (he said) and prove all that you have said to be false." Carey desired him to sit down and try. He did so; and after about two hours' close reasoning on both sides, he found himself impounded. He had at first granted that God is

light, and in Him is no darkness at all; but at length he was forced to say roundly that God was possessed of sinful inclinations like men, or to give up his cause. Seeing his difficulty, Carey addressed him before the multitude: "Brahmin, you know that you have used every crooked argument in your power to support your cause, notwithstanding which you are involved in an inextricable difficulty. Why will you adhere to so bad a cause?" Then he spoke to him of the way of life by Jesus Christ, and prayed. After prayer, the Brahmin told how he had left his native country, Orissa, and his friends, to come there to study the Shasters; but he was convinced that the way of the Shasters was not the true way. "When you prayed," he said, "I felt my heart pray with you." Such incidents happened frequently, and gave hope of fruit.

It was near the close of his residence in Mudnabatty that he saw the burning of a widow for the first time in his life. He had been at Calcutta, and was returning home. One evening, getting out of his boat near a village, he saw a concourse of people by the river side. Inquiring the occasion, he was told they were come to burn the body of a dead man; and that his wife meant to be burned with him. The dead body lay on a pile made of large billets of wood, and the widow stood close by. Her nearest relative stood beside her, and at a little distance was a basket of sweetmeats. Carey asked whether it was the woman's choice to die on her husband's funeral pyre, or whether there was any influence

used; and was told that she was perfectly voluntary. He reasoned and remonstrated till it was of no use to go on; and then he began to exclaim against what they were about to do as a shocking murder. It was in vain. They told him it was a great act of holiness, and that if he did not like to see it, he might go away. He replied that he would not go; he would be a witness against their deed; and then he turned to the widow, and urged her not to throw away her life. For answer, she mounted the pile, and danced on it, with her hands extended, as if in perfect tranquillity of mind. She had previously passed six times round it, scattering the sweetmeats among the people as she walked. When she had danced on the pile, she lay down beside the corpse, placing one arm under its neck and the other over; when a quantity of dry leaves and other combustibles was heaped above them to a considerable height; and then a quantity of melted butter was poured on the top. Two bamboos were held fast down over them, and the nearest relative then set fire to the pile, which immediately blazed fiercely up. If the woman groaned or screamed, she could not be heard for the shouting of the spectators; and if she tried to escape, she could not, as the bamboos held her down "like the leaves of a press." Carey went away agonized and horror-stricken.

These years at Mudnabatty were of immense value in preparing him for the great service of his life; but, so far as gathering men to the Saviour was concerned, they were years of "hope deferred." "I feel (he says) as a

farmer does about his crop : sometimes I think the seed is springing, and thus I hope ; a little time blasts all, and my hopes are gone like a cloud. They were only weeds which appeared ; or if a little corn sprung up, it quickly died, being either choked with weeds, or parched up by the sun of persecution. Yet I still hope in God, and will go forth in His strength, and make mention of His righteousness, even of His only. I preach every day to the natives, and twice on Lord's Day constantly, besides other itinerant labours ; and I try to speak of Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and of Him alone ; but my soul is often much dejected to see no fruit." The gain of these years amounted to this : the object of the missionaries was better understood ; there were a few natives respecting whom great hopes were cherished ; the sphere of action among Europeans was considerably enlarged ; the people and their language were better known ; the work of translation had progressed ; the school was prosperous ; and the stations at Malda and Dinagepore were regularly visited. The missionaries, besides, were greatly encouraged by the "hitherto unextinguishable flame" that had been kindled in England and all the Western world.

In 1799 the indigo works at Mudnabatty were given up, in consequence of a succession of bad seasons and inundations. In anticipation of their abandonment, Carey had taken a small indigo work at Kidderpore, in the same neighbourhood, on his own account ; and he now set about erecting buildings there, in hope of

reinforcements from England. In this venture he expended all the little money he possessed.

Just at this juncture the expected reinforcements from England arrived. They consisted of William Ward, Joshua Marshman and his wife, Daniel Brunsdon and his wife, William Grant and his wife, and Miss Tidd, who was to marry Mr. Fountain. Their intention was, if possible, to proceed to Malda, and settle with Carey at Mudnabatty. They arrived off Calcutta on the 12th of October, 1799, by the American ship *Criterion*, commanded by Captain Benjamin Wickes, of Philadelphia—a man whose Christlike spirit was enough "to silence a thousand deists, if their eyes were not holden." Instead of landing, they left the ship in two boats, with their chests, and proceeded up the river to Serampore, where they arrived the following morning at day-break. It was the Lord's Day; and they put up for the time being at Myer's tavern.

Two of the missionary band speedily fell victims to the climate. Mr. Grant died within three weeks after landing, and Mr. Brunsdon within twelve months. Both of them were men of considerable promise as missionaries. Marshman and Ward, whose names are indissolubly linked with that of Carey, were spared for many eventful years, to labour together in the Gospel. Their story is a romance. Never did three men serve together in such close union, for so long a space of time, with such unbroken harmony, such unselfishness and loftiness of aim, so thorough practical good sense, and so marvellously

sustained resolution and enthusiasm, or win such trophies for the Redeemer "in the hitherto unconquered realms of Paganism," as did these three—Carey, Marshman, and Ward.

Marshman's first approach to the mission is thus noticed in a letter of Fuller's at the time: "I received a letter from another person, a schoolmaster, by whom Grant was set a-thinking to purpose." This "other person," Joshua Marshman by name, was the son of a Wiltshire weaver. His early education was got at a village school, where scarcely anything was taught beyond reading and writing. In this humble seminary the boy's lamp was lighted. Eager for knowledge, he entered the service of a London bookseller at the age of fifteen, but speedily discovered that he could learn little more about books there than the title-page and binding. After a brief trial, the London experiment was abandoned as a mistake, and he went back to his loom at Westbury, where for several years (like David Livingstone after him) he continued to ply his shuttle. They were years of advancing mental power and religious experience. While he was still a young man he was offered the mastership of a school in Bristol, which he accepted. While living there he was baptized, and joined the Church at Broadmead; and besides discharging his school duties, he attended the Bristol Baptist Academy. He was a man of great mental capacity, with what the Scotch call "a long head," and fine administrative abilities.

William Ward, the son of a builder at Derby, was a

man of different type, but admirably suited for his future work. After receiving a fairly good education, he was apprenticed to a printer. Being a man of native ability, with ardour under the guidance of practical good sense, and being, moreover (like so many generous young men at the period of the great French Revolution), an eager politician, he rose to the position of editor of the *Derby Mercury*, and afterwards of a newspaper in Hull. In 1796 he became a Church member, and began to preach; and a little later went to Dr. Fawcett's training Institution at Ewood Hall, where he became inspired with the earnest desire to be a missionary.

The pilot who had boarded the *Criterion* in Calcutta Roads brought with him a Government order requiring the captain to give in a list of all his passengers, with their business and destination. The four brethren were accordingly reported as "missionaries bound for Serampore." On arrival there, they waited on the Danish Governor, Colonel Bie, an old friend of Schwartz, with a letter of introduction from the Danish consul in London. They were welcomed with frank cordiality. "I have received them," Colonel Bie afterwards wrote, "as righteous men, in the name of righteous men; and I shall never withhold good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of my hand to do it. I am happy in possessing them, and will be more so in seeing their number increase; as this world gives much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, but little dust that gold cometh from."

They were disappointed that neither Thomas nor Carey met them on their arrival; and as they were considering what course to take, Captain Wickes made his appearance with the unexpected tidings that his ship was refused entrance at the Calcutta custom-house until the missionaries he had brought appeared at the police court, and bound themselves to return immediately to England. For some time the French had been causing great alarm: "I can compare them to nothing (said Fuller) but a raving mad bull on the other side of a river." Buonaparte, "purposing to be another Cæsar," was believed to have been threatening India by his recent Egyptian expedition; and hence stringent precautions had been taken against foreign emissaries. One of the Calcutta newspapers had blundered into, announcing "the arrival of four Papist missionaries in a foreign ship"; and this paragraph, catching the eye of the authorities, led to the police interference with Captain Wickes. Colonel Bie, while assuring the missionaries of an asylum at Serampore, advised that they should present an explanatory memorial to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley,[1] setting forth their aims. This was done, and Captain Wickes' difficulty disappeared.

[1] Earl of Mornington, created Baron Wellesley 20th Oct., 1799, and Marquess Wellesley 2nd Dec., 1799. One of three distinguished brothers, all serving in India at the same time; the other two being the future "Iron Duke" and Lord Cowley. A man of vast comprehension and energy, with capacity to devise and carry out the most magnificent plans.

Inquiries and negotiations followed, which resulted in convincing them that they would not be allowed to settle as missionaries within the Company's territories.

Claudius Buchanan in a letter written about this time says: "Lord Mornington is taking measures to send home all Frenchmen and republicans. I was applied to lately, in a kind of official way, to give some account of the Baptist missionaries. It was asked, What was their object? How supported? Whether they were not of republican principles? As I had some good data for speaking favourably of Mr. Carey, I confined myself to him.[1] I stated the origin of the Tranquebar

[1] There seems here an allusion to Mr. Fountain. Though Carey esteemed him highly, and found him "a great help and support," yet his letters home, and his unguarded talk in India, led to the conclusion that he "had too great an edge for politics," and was too much given to "sarcastic sneering at all persons in authority." Some of his letters were opened in the Post Office, and his unguarded words were reported, losing nothing in the carrying; so it is not altogether surprising that Buchanan "confined himself to Carey" in what he said to the Governor-General. Fuller's remonstrances with Fountain regarding his "crude and pert political letters," his "folly," and so forth, are of the most direct and vigorous character. He warns him to remember how Peter and Jude "described the liberty-boys of their day." He enjoins him, letter after letter, to attend to his proper business as a missionary, and let politics alone. If he persists in his "sneers and violent language," the Society will be under the necessity of publicly disowning him. In more than one letter, Fuller even goes the length of saying that if he will not change his course, "I must withdraw." Appealing directly to him, he says: "If you have no regard for yourself, spare that cause which is worth thousands of such lives as yours and ours." It is only just to Fountain's memory to say that Carey, who knew

mission, and its success under Schwartz, and I represented Carey as endeavouring to do in Bengal what Schwartz did in the Deccan. He called upon me lately in his way to Calcutta. He considers himself as sowing seed which haply may grow up and bear fruit."

The issue of their consultations was that on the 10th of January, 1800, Carey, giving up the idea of a settlement in the Company's territories, joined the brethren at Serampore, which was destined to be for years to come "a little sanctuary" for the mission, and a centre of spiritual light and influence for the regions round about.

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him best, had a higher opinion of him than Fuller had; and that the letters which caused the greatest uneasiness would probably be counted very tame and harmless affairs to-day.

CHAPTER V.

JUST across the Hugli from Calcutta, with which it is connected by a massive pontoon bridge, is the large town of Howrah, at the close of last century a mere village. For five and thirty miles above, on the same side, there stretches a narrow river-plain, which is one of the richest and most densely-peopled tracts in India. The Hugli varies in breadth from half to three-quarters of a mile, and is bordered with palm and tamarind, bright green peepul and plantain trees, which shade many a nestling village and lordly residence with their cool greenery. It was within the stretch of these few miles, and on the west bank of the river, that the earliest European "factories" in Bengal were established—the Danes planting themselves at Serampore, the French at Chandernagore, the Dutch at Chinsurah, the English at the village of Hugli,[1] and the Portuguese at Bandel.

[1] About the middle of the seventeenth century, Job Charnock, English adventurer, and governor of the factory at Hugli, obtained a grant of the land on which Calcutta is now built, from the native ruler; and there, after clearing away the jungle, he "set up the Company's flag and his own zenana."

Serampore, calm, cheerful, and umbrageous, lies sixteen miles above Howrah by river. At present it contains a population of over twenty-one thousand. Babu Bhola-Nath Chandra, in his "Travels of a Hindu," thus describes the place. "Serampur is a snug little town, and possesses an exceeding elegance and neatness of appearance. The range of houses along the river side makes up a gay and brilliant picture. The interior keeps the promise which a distant view has given. The streets are as brightly clean as the walks in a garden. There is not much bustle or activity; the whole place wearing the character of a suburban retreat. But the time was when Serampur had a busy trade, and twenty-two ships cleared from this small port in the space of three months." It remained a Danish settlement till 1845, when it was transferred, along with the other Danish possessions in India, by a treaty with the king of Denmark, to the East India Company. In the beginning of the present century it was a kind of *Alsatia*—a "city of refuge" for all who were in debt or afraid of their creditors in neighbouring territory.

The Gospel had been brought to the Serampore district many years before Carey's arrival. While he was a shoemaker lad at Hackleton, a Moravian mission, sent forth at the request of the Danish Asiatic Company, was just dying out. What good the missionaries may have accomplished is now forgotten; by the close of the century no trace of their labours remained.

It was here that Carey and his fellow-labourers now

planted themselves. Charles Grant's opinion was a sound one, that it was a good citadel to possess, but not sufficiently in the seat of action; too much among the Europeans, and too little among the natives. The missionaries themselves were of the same opinion; but they had no choice left them, since the Company forbade their residence in British territory. The place, however, proved a valuable mission centre for many years, lying somewhat like old Iona to the Caledonian regions in the days of St. Columba. Being under the government of a power friendly to their designs, they could work their press without fear, and preach without hindrance.

The Moravian idea somewhat modified, or, as they would have said, the idea of the Pentecostal Church, was adopted by them. They resolved to constitute a single family. There was to be a common stock into which the earnings of all (from whatever source) were to go, a common table, and a common abode—a small separate sum being allowed to each for pocket-money. Whatever remained over and above was to be devoted to the support of widows and orphans, and the propagation of the Gospel, under direction of the brethren thus united. The missionaries were to be considered on a footing of equality, and were to take their turn in preaching and conducting devotions. Each was to be responsible, a month in turn, for the domestic arrangements and expenditure. Carey was appointed treasurer and keeper of the medicine chest, and Fountain librarian.

The spirit in which they began is seen in the "Form

of Agreement" drawn up by them, which was to be read three times a year publicly at every station. They must cherish an "awful sense of the value of souls;" and these myriads around them must be viewed as "immortals." They must endeavour to gain a thorough knowledge of those among whom they labour, in their modes of thinking and feeling. They must avoid everything that would increase the native prejudice against the Gospel, by unguarded words and actions, or anything like acrimony in their preaching, remembering that the real conquests of the Gospel are those of love. The secret of being useful does not lie in being always on the foot: they must watch for and seize all opportunities of doing good. They must make "Christ" the staple of their preaching; it is His love alone that can win; and there is no hope but in a ministry of love. They must gain the confidence of the people. They must watch over the converts with patience and tenderness: young plants in such a climate had need to be nourished with peculiar affection. They must encourage them to make the Gospel known to their countrymen; for it is "only by means of native preachers" that the knowledge of salvation can be diffused throughout India; and, as Churches are formed, pastors and deacons should be chosen "from amongst their own countrymen"—the missionary of the district advising when necessary, but directing his own efforts specially to the extension of the Gospel and the forming of new Churches. They must labour with all their might in forwarding translations of

the Bible in the languages of India; in circulating these translations; and in establishing native free schools. And, that they may be fitted for the discharge of these "unutterably important labours," they must be instant in prayer and the cultivation of personal religion.

"Finally (they say), let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, or even the clothes we wear, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and His cause. Oh! that He may sanctify us for His work. Let us for ever shut out the idea of laying up a cowry for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work will succeed the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something on his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement toward such a measure!"

This "Agreement" was not drawn up till 1805; but it exhibits the aims and the kind of life to which the Serampore brethren bound themselves from the beginning. Had the Society in England kept it in view, it might have prevented many of the troubles of after-years.

To Carey's mind, with the experience gained at Mudnabatty, the magnitude of the work to be accomplished stood out in the clearest relief. The Gospel was to be made known to an immense population; the

Bible was to be translated into many languages; the printing-press was to be made a power in the land; a whole Christian literature was to be created; schools and colleges were to be instituted, and the people educated; and means were to be used for raising up a succession of native evangelists, pastors, and teachers, that the word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified.

It was necessary, as speedily as possible, to procure a suitable dwelling-house and premises for the printing-press. Within a week after Carey's arrival, the purchase was made in name of the Society, the missionaries becoming trustees. The house was in the middle of the town. It contained ample family accommodation, together with storage room, and a hall sufficiently large to serve for a place of worship. Behind the house was a piece of ground two acres in extent, which was made over to Carey for a botanical garden. The situation was good; additional missionaries might be sent without fear; and though they could not settle, they might itinerate, in any part of India. The printing-press was set up without delay. Two boarding schools were also opened under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Marshman, which soon brought a revenue of £360 a year to the common fund. A month later they opened a vernacular school for native youths, which in a short time attracted about forty pupils.

The whole Bible, with the exception of two books, was now translated into Bengali—of course in a manner very

far from perfect—and the work of printing immediately commenced. "Brother Ward," writes Carey, "is the very man we wanted; he enters into the work with his whole soul. I have much pleasure in him, and expect much from him." So rapidly did the work proceed that on the 18th of March the first sheet of the New Testament was placed by Ward in Carey's hands—a treasure more precious in his estimation than gold.

While the press was busy, both Carey and Fountain embraced all opportunities of preaching to the heathen around them, and of conversing with inquirers in private. The hindrances in the way of the Gospel they found to be extreme. It was indeed matter of fact that the two noblest doctrines of pre-Christian religion—the unity of God and a future life—were to be found in the early Sanskrit books, echoes of a primeval faith; but in the minds of the people, the truth was debased, obscured, overlaid with error of the worst kind. Never perhaps was there such a combination of false principles to be met with, all exactly suited to make the sinner

"Fancy music in his chains."

"In other countries the law written upon the conscience may be appealed to, and often with effect, strengthening the power of conviction produced by the doctrine of revelation; but here the law of God is erased from the conscience, and a law of idolatrous ceremony engraved in its stead. Here the multitude believe that the Ganges can wash from iniquity; what need, then,

of the blood of Christ? Here Brahmins unblushingly declare that God is the author of sin, and that the world is merely His show; so that sin is no longer feared. Here it is commonly believed that this is not a state of probation, but of rewards and punishments; the doctrine of a future general judgment, therefore, appears wholly false. Here the multitude believe that hell is a place of temporary punishment merely; so that no one much fears, though he may think he is going there. Add to this, all pay a thousand-fold more reverence and devotion to the Brahmins than ever the people did to the priesthood in the darkest periods of popery; and all are bound in their present state by the chain of the caste, in breaking which a man must bear to be utterly renounced and abhorred, by his children, his friends, and his countrymen. All the ties that twine about the heart of a father, a husband, a child, a neighbour, must be torn and broken before a man can give himself to Christ. Such is, to human nature, the dreadful colossus which Satan has erected to his own name in this country. These difficulties are increased to us by our want of language and of influence, the example of our countrymen, the heat of the climate, and so on. We are often perplexed, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed. We have a sure word of prophecy; nor are we without evidence that God is working by us, and opening a way for gathering a people in this benighted region. Our afflictions have abounded; but goodness and mercy have much more abounded.

"There appears to be a growing familiarity between us and the natives. They receive our printed papers and books with the greatest eagerness, and we cannot doubt but that they are extensively read. One man says that he has lent his book to a friend at a distance; another meets us, and repeats part of what he has found in a hymn, perhaps; another attempts to find fault with something he has read. Brahmins manifest a great dislike of our preaching and printing; and some begin to find out we are come on purpose to put an end to their trade in the souls of men. There appears to be a favourable change also in the general temper of the people. Commerce has raised new thoughts and awakened new energies; so that hundreds, if we could skilfully teach them gratis, would crowd to learn the English language. We hope this may be in our power some time, and may be a happy means of diffusing the knowledge of the Gospel."

In the midst of their labours, difficulties, and hopes, Fountain was taken from them after a comparatively brief illness. He died at Dinagepore on the 20th of August, 1800, aged thirty-three—"a sinner saved by grace."

Many opportunities occurred of conversing about the Gospel with men of all classes, as well as of preaching. In the discussions which thus arose there was much that to an Englishman would look like quibbling, but that in the circumstances was really important. The religious disputes going on in England were quite unknown in

India, where the questions stirred and the manner of dealing with them resembled rather what is found in Justin Martyr and Irenæus, between the old fathers on the one hand, and the heathen and Gnostics on the other. One day, for example, Carey and Brunsdon went to a village a few miles distant, and found three or four Brahmins smoking in the market-place, their faces marked with the powder of sandal-wood. Going up to them, Carey asked what was the matter with their faces. They answered that it was the Teeluk. "I inquired why they put such a mark. They said it was a piece of holiness, and pleaded the authority of the Shastras. I inquired what Shastras, and what proof they had of their books being divine. While we were thus talking, a good number of people got together, and among the rest an old Brahmin, of very good understanding. I had just inquired whether any one could inform me how my sins might be pardoned; but on the old man's coming up, they all referred me to him. I sat down on a mat, he on another, and the rest of the people around us, and then I repeated the question. He said that profound meditation and acts of holiness would answer the purpose. I observed that we were sinfully inclined, and therefore could not possibly do a good action. You may, said I, as well expect to see mangoes produced on the Indian fig, or cocoa-nuts on the toddy tree, as to see the fruits of holiness proceed from a sinful heart. You all, said I, love this present world, and are pursuing sin with greediness; now you cannot love sin and God at

the same time, and you may as well expect to see fire and water agree, as persons with sinful hearts and desires cordially approve of the character of God. All the ceremonies, said I, which you call holiness, may be performed by the vilest of men, and it is no uncommon thing for a Brahmin to be employed one hour in these ceremonies, and the next hour to lie, steal, or commit adultery; indeed, we cannot expect that you should be better than your gods. The Brahmin tried to defend their character, but in vain. I produced instances from their books of their vices. I inquired, How can you suppose these things to be at all related to a holy God? They are not God, nor the friends of God, nor even His servants. For instance, you cannot suppose that I should keep a servant whom I knew to be a person addicted to every evil; much less should I choose such a person for my friend. They pleaded that these debtas were gods. I observed, 'You may as well tell me that you are a Brahmin, a Sudra, a Chundal, a Mussulman, a Portuguese, an Englishman. Brahmin, said I, you and I and all of us are sinners, and we are in a helpless state; but I have good tidings to tell you. God in the riches of His mercy became incarnate, in the form of man. He lived more than thirty years on the earth, without sin, and was employed in doing good. He gave sight to the blind, healed the sick, the lame, the deaf, and the dumb; and, after all, died in the stead of sinners. *We* deserved the wrath of God; but *He* endured it. We could make no sufficient atonement for

our guilt; but He completely made an end of sin; and now He has sent us to tell you that the work is done, and to call you to faith in and dependence on Him. Therefore, leave your vain customs and false gods, and lay hold of eternal life through Him.' After much discourse of this sort, we presented him with a copy of Matthew's Gospel, and three more to other persons. He promised to read and make himself well acquainted with its contents, and then to converse more about it. It was now dark; I therefore prayed with them, and we returned home."

On another occasion he was led into discussion with some Brahmins in the outskirts of Serampore. They began objecting to the Gospel; one in particular began to exculpate himself, and to cast the blame of all sin on God. "I immediately addressed his conscience as closely as I could; charged sin upon him; appealed to all present whether that man was not a sinner; told him that, notwithstanding he called himself a god, he must die like a man, and very soon give an account of all his conduct to a just and impartial God. I exhorted him and all present to lay hold of Christ, and not to deceive themselves any longer. A multitude tried to object; but I persisted in declaring their danger, and the only remedy. They told me they never would embrace Christ; and, said one of them: 'Do you worship our Krishnu, and believe our books, that you may be saved.' I immediately placed myself by the side of a Brahmin, and said, 'Well, appoint a day to invest me

with the Poitoo, and teach me the Gayotee.'[1] 'Oh, says he, 'you cannot become a Brahmin; you must be a Sudra.' 'Yes,' said I, 'a pretty business! You want to put me under your feet, do you? Is this your religion and benevolence? I preach the Gospel to you that you may become my brother, my beloved friend; and you invite me to embrace your Shastras that I may become your slave!' I have since been invited to embrace Krishnu; but my answer is, What fruits have the servants of Krishnu to show? You are proud, false, designing, treacherous, dishonest; and no wonder, for so was your god: but whoever believes in the Lord Jesus Christ will be purified from his love to sin, and delivered from slavery to it."

Sometimes they would go out, three together, like ballad-singers, and would take their station where different roads or streets met, singing a Gospel hymn, while the people looked out from their houses, and some gathered round to listen. These gatherings were sometimes noisy; but when the love and sufferings of Christ were touched upon, the people were all attention.

Before the close of the first year in Serampore, God granted the missionaries the desire of their hearts. More than once they had been gladdened by the prospect of Christian decision on the part of inquirers, but hitherto had been disappointed: now the prospect was

[1] The *Poitoo*, the Brahminical thread; *Gayotee*, the verse taught at their investment with the thread, accounted so holy that none but a Brahmin must hear it.

realized. Krishnu, a carpenter at Serampore, having dislocated his arm, applied for treatment to Mr. Thomas, who was then on a visit to the station. Thomas tied him to a tree, and set the arm, and then spoke to the man with great earnestness, and laid before him the Gospel of salvation. There followed much intercourse on the part of Krishnu and his family with the missionaries; the word touched their hearts; and, as the issue, Krishnu, his wife, his daughter, and others avowed their faith in the Gospel. Great allowance, indeed, had to be made for their ignorance; but there appeared satisfactory evidence of dependence on Christ and surrender to His will.

On the 22nd of December Krishnu and Gokul threw away their caste by sitting down at table with the missionaries. That same evening the "Church meeting" was held. Carey's eldest son, Felix, gave an account of the work of God in his soul, and was received into fellowship with great joy. Then Gokul related his experience, which was to this effect: that for years he had been traversing the land for rest, but in vain; that he had listened to the Gospel in the Serampore marketplace, and the word had struck home, so that he and another man spent the whole night conversing about it; that for a while he was angry because the Bible did not agree with his notions; that though he kept away from the missionaries, he could not get rid of his uneasiness; that he saw himself a great sinner, with a heart all sinful; that afterwards hearing the Gospel again, he looked to

Christ as his only hope; that he was now willing to submit to Christ entirely; and all this he said with many tears.

After Gokul came Joymuni, who related that she had first heard the Gospel from the lips of Gokul; that it made her think herself the greatest sinner in the world; that she was rejoiced to hear of Christ as a Saviour; and that when she heard of Him, she made Him her Asroy,[1] and lost all her fears.

After her came Krishnu's wife, Rasu. She had heard the Gospel, in a confused way, from her husband. She felt herself a sinner, and was full of fear. The news of a Saviour gladdened her heart, and she trusts and expects all at His feet.

Krishnu came last of all. He first heard the Gospel from Mr. Fountain; he longed and yet kept at a distance, till his shoulder was dislocated, when the words that Mr. Thomas spoke penetrated his heart. He did once delight in sin; but now purposed, like Zacchæus, to follow it no longer. The hearts of all—to use Gokul's word—seemed "nailed to Christ." Carey then explained what Christ called them to; and after singing a hymn—"Salvation, O the joyful sound"—they knelt in prayer and parted.

As soon as it became known that Krishnu and others had renounced caste, and become Christians, there was wild uproar among the natives. A crowd of many hundred persons collected, uttering fierce imprecations,

[1] The house for the refuge of those who have forsaken all.

and dragged Krishnu and Gokul to the Danish magistrate's house, who, finding that there was no accusation brought forward, dismissed the case, and ordered the crowd to disperse. By-and-by, the crowd returned, bringing the charge against Krishnu that he refused to give up his daughter to the man to whom she had been betrothed. The charge was true in letter; the girl was thirteen, and had been contracted in marriage some years before by her father; but she now declared herself a Christian; and so the magistrate refused to give her up to a heathen, and granted a guard for the house that night to prevent violence.

On Lord's Day, the 28th of December, Krishnu was baptized in the Ganges along with Carey's eldest son, Felix. The courage of Gokul and the women seems to have failed them, and their baptism was deferred. Poor Mr. Thomas went frantic with joy, and was not allowed to be present, though his wild cries could be heard during the service. Carey, with his son Felix on one side and Krishnu on the other, walked down to the river at the landing-stairs, where the governor and a number of Europeans, native Portuguese, Hindoos, and Mahommedans had assembled. Then he addressed the concourse in Bengali, and explained that he and his friends did not hold the river more sacred than other rivers—it was only water; and Krishnu by his act now openly renounced the gods that were no gods, and put on Christ. The service produced a deep impression; the good old governor was moved to tears; the spec-

tators generally appeared to realize the significance and solemnity of the transaction. The same afternoon Krishnu sat down with the Church at the Lord's table. It was a time of great joy.[1]

Other baptisms soon followed; among them that of Ignatius Fernandez, a gentleman of Portuguese extraction, who continued to be for many years, both by his personal labours and by the use of his temporal means, a faithful coadjutor of the missionaries. His place was Dinagepore, nearly two hundred miles to the north. There he acted as pastor of a small church, and preached regularly to the natives, being master of both the Bengali and Hindustani languages. He also established one or two native charity schools.

[1] Krishnu's hymn is well known in the translation which begins:

"O thou, my soul, forget no more
The Friend who all thy misery bore."

The following translation by the Rev. G. H. Rouse follows the original both in sense and metre:

Ch.—He who gave His life to save thee, sinful as thou art,
Forget Him never, O my heart.

1. Forget, forget Him not, but with Him cast thy lot,
Jesus, His name is God, He saves from sin.

2. All thine own works forsake, His love thy riches make;
Let Jesus only dwell thy heart within.

3. Pity and truth and grace are all in Him boundless;
Jesus for sinful man His life hath given.

4. How good and true a Friend, His praise shall never end;
The name of Jesus brings me safe to heaven.

Before the end of the year it was found that the expense of the printing-press was greater than the income of the missionaries could bear; and so, to obtain funds adequate to their requirements, they ventured an appeal to the Christian residents of Calcutta. Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, was somewhat annoyed by this appeal; some of his subordinates were in consternation. What was the use of muzzling the press of Calcutta—as his lordship had done—if another, only sixteen miles distant, and with such facilities for scattering its productions over India, were free? To the official eye the danger appeared extreme. Now Lord Wellesley never failed to appear in his seat at church as the representative of the British Government, "making a public official profession of allegiance to the Author of Christianity," and he had a sincere respect both for the judgment and for the character of his chaplain, the Rev. David Brown. This was the same Mr. Brown who seven years before had received Carey in his house with such cool politeness. Mr. Brown, consulted by his lordship, now proved himself a true friend of the missionaries. Knowing that they had no political aims, and that they wished simply to spread the knowledge of salvation, he made such representations that all interference was averted; the appeal for aid met with a liberal response; and the work went on. "Under every possible disadvantage" the printing of the New Testament was completed early next year, and Carey saw the begun realization of his

"sublime thought." He carried the first copy of the book into the church, and laid it reverently upon the communion table; and they all gathered round and united in fervent thanksgiving to God. "It is worthy of notice," said Fuller, "that the time in which the Lord began to bless His servants was that in which His holy Word began to be published in the language of the natives."

CHAPTER VI.

SOON after his arrival in India as Governor-General, Lord Wellesley discovered that many of those who had to discharge important functions under Government were ill acquainted with the language, customs, and ideas of the natives; and this ignorance he saw was fraught with serious danger. Though it had happened that men equal to the emergency had hitherto been raised up in every crisis of Indian history, he was satisfied that the interests of the country should not be left to depend on accidental merit. The time had gone by when the civil servants of the Company could be considered as the mere agents of a commercial "concern," whose principal duties were the weighing of tea, the counting of bales, and the measuring of muslins and silks. They were, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign. They occupied positions of grave responsibility; and a severe and thorough training had become indispensable.

With these views the Fort William College, Calcutta, was established in the year 1800, and there the junior

civil servants of the Company were required to pursue their studies for three years. It was Wellesley's idea that promotion should come only through this channel.

The College was expected by its founder to prove of the utmost value for the welfare of India. The two foremost men of the English Church in Calcutta were placed at its head; the Rev. David Brown as provost, to care for the morals of the students, and the Rev. Claudius Buchanan as vice-provost and classical tutor, to regulate the course of their studies. The internal management was entrusted to Mr. Barlow, the senior member of Council. Carey, as the one man in India most fully qualified for the office, was appointed teacher of Bengali, and afterwards of Sanskrit and Mahratta, with a salary of £600 a year. Later on he was raised to the status of professor, with a salary increased to £1,500 a year. Being a missionary, he was unacceptable to the officials of the Company; but Wellesley simply satisfied himself, before making the appointment, that he was a man of character, well affected to Government, and thoroughly competent for the position. It now seemed within the range of probability that Serampore would be able at no distant date to dispense altogether with assistance from England.

In 1801, in consequence of the outbreak of hostilities with Denmark, the English took possession of Serampore, and held it for fourteen months, till the restoration of peace. It was taken while the inhabitants were in bed and asleep; but the mission was now

deemed as safe under English as it had been under Danish rule.

The same year saw two more breaks in the missionary band. Grant and Fountain had both died in the course of 1800; the latter near the end of August. Ere twelve months more had elapsed, Brunsdon followed at the early age of twenty-four, after giving promise of great power and devotedness. He died in Calcutta on the 3rd of July. On the 13th of October Mr. Thomas died at Dinagepore under an attack of fever and ague. His sufferings latterly were very great, but he was sustained in Christian peace of mind, and departed with a hope full of immortality, exclaiming, "O death! where is thy sting?" He had many faults, but he had also some noble qualities, and he was remarkably efficient as a missionary, and deeply loved even by those who were most pained by his failings.[1] They laid him by the side of Fountain. The two graves bear no names to-day; they are shapeless mounds, overgrown with wild vegetation, in which the maiden-hair fern is conspicuous; but no Christian man can look upon them without tender emotion, and even tears. These deaths reduced the missionary band to the three whose names are imperishably associated with Serampore.

On the first Lord's Day of 1802, the missionaries

[1] Those who wish to become better acquainted with this singular man should read his "Life" by the Rev. C. B. Lewis (Macmillan & Co.), a book of deep interest for the student of Christian character.

baptized the first convert of the Kayust or writer caste —a caste inferior only to the Brahmins themselves. The name of this convert was Petumber Singh. He was close on sixty years of age—a man of great intelligence and simplicity of character. For years—like another Justin Martyr, going from Stoic to Peripatetic, from Peripatetic to Pythagorean, from Pythagorean to Platonist—he had been "feeling after God, if haply he might find Him." He had quietly given up idol-worship; and, just at the opportune moment, had met with one of the Serampore tracts, from which he learned that strangers had come from a distant land to show the way of salvation through Jesus Christ. He sought out these strangers, and, after remaining with them two or three days, went home to tell his family the good news. He was back again within a week; threw up his caste; and avowed the faith of a Christian.[1] In the course of a few weeks more, two other Kayusts and a Brahmin came forward and renounced caste also. On this occasion Carey writes: "Both Europeans and natives laughed at what they thought to be our enthusiastic idea of breaking the bonds of Hindoo caste by preaching the Gospel. When Krishnu and Gokul rejected their caste, many wondered at it; but the majority endeavoured to carry it off with a high hand, and tauntingly asked, Have any of the Brahmins and Kayusts believed on Him? What great thing to have

[1] He died in 1805, after a brief but very honourable Christian career, "triumphing in the Lord."

a carpenter and a distiller reject their caste? Lately, however, the Lord has deprived them of that small consolation, and has given us one Kayust, who joined the Church a little while ago. Last week, two more of the same caste and one Brahmin came and voluntarily rejected their caste without our proposing it."

The printing-press was now becoming a power in the hands of the missionaries, by sending forth New Testaments, tracts, and pamphlets. The excitement caused by these publications was very considerable, and a good deal of alarm was excited in Government circles. Some of the tracts had fallen into the hands of a Hindoo of position, who indignantly laid them before one of the judges; and he in turn brought them under the notice of Sir George Barlow, who was acting for the Governor-General during his absence in the north-west. The consequences might have been serious, had it not been for the influence of Buchanan, who suggested that, before going further, the authorities should acquaint themselves with the contents of the obnoxious tracts. They were accordingly translated, and found to be extremely harmless so far as any political effect could be feared; and so nothing more was said, and the work of the press went on unimpeded.

About this time Mr. Udny, to whose Christian consideration Carey had been indebted at Mudnabatty, and who was now a member of the Supreme Council, called the attention of Lord Wellesley to the practice of infanticide at Saugor, at the mouth of the Ganges, where

children were constantly being sacrificed, in connection with religious observances, by drowning or destruction by sharks and alligators. Hitherto this "custom" had been winked at by Government, not to offend the religious susceptibilities of the natives. He directed attention at the same time to the fact that judicial agents of Government signed orders by virtue of which widows were burned on the funeral-pyre of their husbands. Carey was commissioned by the Governor-General to examine the authorities adduced by Hindoos for the practice of infanticide; and after examination he reported that the practice was not sanctioned by the Hindoo Shasters, and ought to be put down. Accordingly an enactment was passed, prohibiting the practice under severe penalties; and, at next festival, to the surprise of the alarmists who had predicted serious consequences, the practice was suppressed with scarcely a murmur on the part of the natives.

It was by no fault or oversight of the missionaries that the custom of burning widows was not suppressed at the same time. A mass of trustworthy evidence respecting the custom was collected and laid before the Governor-General; but he was just about to leave India, and could not deal hurriedly with a matter so important; and hence the evil was permitted to survive for a quarter of a century longer, to receive its death-blow from that true statesman, Lord William Bentinck.

A great Christian principle was affirmed in connection with the reception of the first Brahmin into the member-

ship of the Church—the principle of Christian brotherhood. Previous missionaries had not merely tolerated caste in the ordinary social life of their converts, but had even allowed it to appear at the Lord's table. Carey and his friends determined against this from the outset. A Brahmin of the name of Krishnu-Prisad made avowal of faith in Christ, and was baptized. The same day, at the Lord's table, Krishnu the Brahmin received the bread and the cup from the hands of Krishnu the Sudra. Thus the principle was unmistakably enunciated that no caste-distinctions could be recognised within the brotherhood of Christian believers. No objection, however, was made to the poitoo, or sacred thread, which was looked upon as a merely social distinction, and he continued to wear it across the shoulder for three years, when he laid it aside of his own accord.

Shortly afterwards, the first marriage among the converts was solemnised, between Krishnu-Prisad the Brahmin and the daughter of Krishnu-Pal the Sudra. The wedding took place under a tree in front of the house. Carey gave a short address explanatory of the ordinance, repeated some passages of Scripture, and read the marriage service, which he had drawn up in Bengali. The bride and bridegroom then plighted their troth to each other, and, after prayer, signed their names, the missionaries adding their signatures as witnesses. In the evening they all went to the marriage supper, served in Eastern fashion. They began by singing

Krishnu's hymn, and ended with prayer. This was felt to be another step towards the suppression of caste.

Half a year later, the first death occurred among the converts. It was Gokul, the Sudra, who passed away rejoicing in his Saviour. The coffin, made on the mission premises, was covered with white muslin by Krishnu, at his own expense. The body having been placed in it, Marshman, Felix Carey, Bhyrub, a baptized Brahmin, and Peeru, a baptized Mahommedan, took the coffin on their shoulders, and bore it, in presence of an astonished multitude, to the newly-purchased burial-ground, singing, as they went, the Bengali hymn, "Salvation through the death of Christ." So far as the native Christians were concerned, caste was now completely broken down.

CHAPTER VII.

FRANCIS XAVIER may be taken as the representative of those who thought to bring India and the East into the Christian fold by means of baptism and other outward rites: a man who, with all his errors—and they were neither few nor small—seems to have had a deep love for the Saviour, tender compassion for the heathen, and indomitable courage. The Moravian Brethren represent those who would plant down a Christian family or brotherhood in a heathen community for the purpose of exemplifying the living power of the Gospel before the eyes of all. Judson, of Burmah, represents the preacher or herald who goes about proclaiming the message of life, after the manner of the apostles and early Christians, leaving God to prove it to men in His own way. He held that the message is to be made known at once, without preliminary work extending, it may be, over half a generation; that the aim to be kept in view is not to put men in possession of a correct dogmatic creed, but to lead them to trust a living, present, almighty Saviour, and that the vitalizing action of the

Holy Spirit is to be counted upon by the preacher. Others, represented by the great name of Dr. Duff, saw the importance of education, and bent their energies to the establishing of the Christian college and school, so as to let in the full stream of European knowledge upon the minds of those who in future years were to guide the intellect and heart of India; it being understood that all the secular knowledge imparted, and all mental discipline, should be made subservient to the advancement of the Gospel, as otherwise the educational machinery created "would only turn idolaters into rogues and infidels," introducing a scepticism like that which (according to Renan) turned ancient Rome into "a very hell." The special grace given to Carey was that—as an Eastern Wiclif—he should be the pioneer of Bible translation and Christian literature in India.

For this vocation he had singular fitness, both by natural endowment and providential training. He was a born linguist. On his arrival in India he soon became proficient in Bengali; and in a few years' time he had made such progress in Sanskrit that no man in India was counted better qualified to teach that difficult tongue in Fort William College. His first intention was simply to translate the Bible into the vernacular of Bengal; but time and experience showed him that much more was required. His views were shared by his colleagues; and in 1804, "having been working silently for some time," they propounded a scheme, to which they had been gradually led by experience, for translating Scripture into

the languages of the East. They understood that there were at least seven languages spoken in India; they had acquired the habits necessary for translators; they had many helps accumulated at Serampore; through Carey's connection with the Government college they could obtain valuable assistance from men of learning; they had a large printing and type-founding establishment, capable of indefinite extension; and Serampore could be made a good centre whence to distribute their publications. They proposed, therefore, as such a conjunction of advantages might never occur again, to translate the Scriptures into the various Indian languages; and as their own resources were inadequate for so great a work, they asked assistance from the Society at home to the extent of £1,000 a year. Some months before this, Carey had written privately both to Ryland and Fuller on the subject; and under their influence a resolution was passed to the effect that if the missionary brethren should be able to carry out their plan, "we will most cordially co-operate with them, and we are persuaded the Christian public will not suffer the work to stop for want of pecuniary support." Before this resolution bore any fruit, however, sufficient assistance was received from the newly-formed Bible Society; and the work went bravely forward. In the course of the thirty years that followed, more than two hundred and twelve thousand volumes of the Sacred Word, in forty different languages, issued from the mission press.

Reinforcements to the mission were already received

by the arrival of younger brethren from England; others were on their way out; some of the native converts were engaged in preaching; and Carey's sons, Felix and William, both gave promise of usefulness. Obviously, Serampore was becoming too strait for them, and room must be found or made elsewhere. Besides this, there were indications of a danger that, should there come to be a numerical preponderance of younger brethren at Serampore, without experience, yet placed on a footing of perfect equality with the seniors, they might throw down in an hour what it had taken years of patient labour to build up. This made the older missionaries "dread the thought of a majority of inexperienced persons" among them. After much consideration they agreed, if it were possible, to extend the mission by setting up subordinate stations at about one hundred miles from each other; each station to be a base of operations for its own neighbourhood. They did not believe in what may be called missionary vagrancy, but in an itineracy which held a well-chosen centre, and visited and re-visited the whole region round about.

It was hoped, as the Society at home could not undertake their full support, that those who occupied these stations might be able to maintain themselves—or nearly so—by doing a little business in cloth, spices, indigo, or some other Indian merchandise. Besides, under the jealous despotism of the Company, they might be tolerated as traders, but would certainly be prohibited and silenced as missionaries. It was judged necessary

that four brethren should occupy Serampore as head-quarters, and that the various stations should communicate with them once a month. A beginning was made with Cutwa, a large native town on the Hugli, about seventy miles above Calcutta; and thither John Chamberlain proceeded, hoping to support himself as a cloth-merchant.

Shortly afterwards a noteworthy occurrence took place, which was not without its influence on the future of the mission. Carey had been requested to deliver an address in Bengali and another in Sanskrit, as Moderator at the annual "Disputations" of the Fort William College, in presence of the Governor-General; and he embraced the opportunity to avow his missionary character. These College Disputations in Wellesley's time were occasions of brilliant display. They were held in the throne-room, in presence of the Governor-General, the higher Government officials, the judges, and many distinguished civilians, besides eminent natives, and representatives of native princes, in "plumed and jewelled" turbans, with rich, brilliantly-coloured costumes, and not a little show of "barbaric pearl and gold." It was in such a "presence" that Carey appeared. His Sanskrit speech, the first ever delivered in that language by a European, was ordered to be translated and printed. He had addressed part of that speech to Wellesley, recognising the success of his administration generally, and the benefits derived from the establishment of the College in particular. When it was translated, he sub-

mitted it to Claudius Buchanan, who somewhat enlarged it, and (says Carey) "inserted some expressions of flattery which I totally disapprove," and then sent it, thus "amended," to Lord Wellesley. In the address these sentences occur: "I, now an old man,[1] have lived for a long series of years among the Hindoos. I have been in the habit of preaching to multitudes daily, of discoursing with the Brahmins on every subject, and superintending schools for the education of the Hindoo youth. Their language is nearly as familiar to me as my own. This close intercourse with the natives for so long a period, and in different parts of our empire, has afforded me opportunities of information not inferior to those which have hitherto been presented to any other person. I may say, indeed, that their manners, customs, habits, and sentiments are as obvious to me as if I was myself a native. And, knowing them as I do, and hearing as I do their daily observations on our government, character, and principles, I am warranted to say (and I deem it my duty to embrace the public opportunity now offered me of saying) that the institution of this College was wanting to complete the happiness of the natives under our dominion; for this institution will break down the barrier (our ignorance of their language) which has ever opposed the influence of our laws and principles, and has despoiled our administration of its energy and effect. Were, however, the institution to cease from this moment, its

[1] This must be one of Buchanan's touches. Carey was only forty-three.

salutary effects would yet remain. Good has been done which cannot be undone. Sources of useful knowledge, moral instruction, and political utility, have been opened to the natives of India *which can never be closed.*" Looking round upon the students, he added, "Your name will be safe in their hands. No revolution of opinion or change of circumstances can rob you of the solid glory derived from the humane, just, liberal, and magnanimous principles which have been embodied by your administration."

To avow himself a missionary, in such a presence, was a bold thing to do; and in some quarters it kindled deep and lasting resentment. Lord Wellesley's own judgment was this: "I am much pleased with Mr. Carey's truly original and excellent speech. . . . I esteem such a testimony from such a man a greater honour than the applauses of courts and parliaments." The gain was this—that he had frankly avowed himself *a missionary* before the chief representative of British government without being called in question for what he said.

Fuller disapproved of some things in Carey's address —particularly Buchanan's "amendments"—and said so.[1]

[1] Fuller was in the habit of saying what he thought "in the purest love," but with great plainness of speech. Thus, recognising a foreign touch in the advertisements relating to translation: "There you appear in all the vain-glory of coxcombs. Plain, sober men suffered themselves to be dressed up, by this master of the ceremonies, in ribbons and ringlets, to appear before universities and kings." To Marshman he writes, on another occasion:

Just as he objected to Fountain's political sneers and tirades, so he equally objected to a eulogium by a missionary on political and military aggression which (as he thought) had thrown even Clive's achievements into the shade.[1] He feared, too, that there might be danger to the cause he had at heart in the kindness of the great, and that applause from high quarters might prove a greater hindrance than censure; so he writes—with Buchanan in view, whom he judged very sternly—"Beware of the council of this Mr. Worldly Wiseman. He will draw you off from the simplicity of Christ; and, under the pretence of liberality and so forth, you will be shorn like Sampson of his locks. Beware of the flatterer."

At this time Carey and Marshman undertook the publication, under Government auspices, of some of the most celebrated Sanskrit books, beginning with "the

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"Never intrigue with intriguers. I am not afraid of Carey, nor of Ward, on this score; but have some fear lest my brother Marshman should intrigue a little to counteract ——." In another letter he expresses his grief "that Sister W. should expend so enormous a sum on a straw-bonnet, and send the account to England." In another letter he says: "You write in a manner about 'sledge-hammers,' 'goals,' and 'a letter (of mine) that you had seen to Brother Carey,'—not best adapted to cultivate what I am sure you feel—brotherly love. If you and I could spit from Kettering to Serampore and back again, it would not be worth while. If I have said or done amiss, my dear brother, tell me so plainly."

[1] During Wellesley's tenure of power, the area ruled by the Company was increased by two-thirds. Some parts of his procedure seemed to Fuller as unjustifiable as the wars of Napoleon.

Iliad of Sanskrit literature," the *Ramayuna*.[1] This undertaking was not indeed in their line as missionaries, and the accomplishing of it involved no inconsiderable addition to their labour, but they consoled themselves with the thought that it would furnish the means of "supporting at least one missionary station."

In the space of six years, ninety-six natives had been baptized on a personal profession of faith in Jesus. This number represents more than two hundred besides, who were less or more powerfully affected by the Gospel. Some, as in the early New Testament Churches, brought shame on their profession, while others lived to adorn it. "Sometimes," says Carey in his Journal, "we have to rebuke them sharply; sometimes to expostulate; sometimes to entreat; and often, after all, to carry them to the throne of grace, and to pour out our complaints before God. Our situation, in short, may be compared to that of a parent who has a numerous family. He must work hard to maintain them, is often full of anxiety concerning them, and has much to endure from their dulness, their indolence, and their perverseness. Yet still he loves them, for they are his children; and his love towards them mingles pleasure with his toil." Even Krishnu-Pal at times caused them trouble. Though

[1] Its place in Indian literature is indicated in the saying that "he who sings and hears this poem continually, has attained to the highest state of enjoyment, and will finally be equal to the gods." Fuller's opinion of it is candidly expressed—"*that piece of lumber called the Ramayuna.*"

he had many sterling qualities and was really useful in preaching the Gospel, yet in some respects he was like a child.[1] Now and again there would crop up self-conceit, or timidity, or stubbornness, or indolence; and he and his family were the occasion of many painful occurrences. The antecedents and circumstances of the converts, however, must be taken into account: they required great patience on the part of the missionaries; and to give a wise training in Christian obedience and humility was perhaps one of the most perplexing parts of the work, and one that occasioned the greatest searchings of heart.

Fresh arrivals from England rendered it urgent that they should carry out their plan of founding additional stations up the country, but the times were not propitious. The Governor-Generalship was held temporarily by Sir George Barlow, who (though not hostile) was fettered by official traditions, and was unprepared to take any step, on his own responsibility, in favour of missionaries. During his absence in the upper provinces, Mr. Udny, a tried friend to Serampore, and a man of high character, acted as his deputy. Breakfasting with Mr. Udny one morning, Carey broached their plan to found additional stations, and, if possible, to establish their brethren as missionaries, and not as traders. As matters stood, he said, the magistrates were only doing their duty in

[1] The excellencies of Krishnu's character ripened with years. He died in 1822, having maintained his Christian fidelity to the last, highly esteemed by his brethren, and most of all by those who knew him best.

obstructing the preachers. He mentioned a case by way of example: his son William and Mr. Moore, one of the missionaries, were distributing books in the city of Dacca some time previously; the people crowded eagerly round to receive them; when the magistrate intervened, and stopped them. Mr. Udny was much interested, and desired him to state his views and wishes in a letter, promising to communicate privately with Sir George Barlow, and then to give his best advice. This was in the month of December, 1805.

Carey wrote to Mr. Udny accordingly, stating the outlines of their plan, and praying the permission of Government to carry it into effect. Speaking for his brethren as well as himself, he said they wished for leave to form subordinate mission stations to the north, under the superintendence of Europeans, assisted by native preachers or catechists; but, he added, "we wish for no privileges or exemptions, but merely for leave to settle, to preach the Gospel, and to distribute Bibles and religious tracts, without being molested by the magistrate of the district; and for a general licence to itinerate through the British dominions. We desire to be subject to the laws of the country in every respect, and we should teach the people to pay all respect to the Government under which they live. As Hindoo and Mahommedan teachers and Roman Catholic priests are at liberty to settle and propagate their sentiments in every place, we hope the same liberty will not be denied to a society of Protestants."

Mr. Udny wrote to Sir George Barlow, recommending that the desired permission should be granted. There was no reply. Time passed; and on his return to Calcutta, Sir George said that, though personally friendly, it was not in his power to grant the authorization sought. The missionaries came to the conclusion that it was a case in which they must obey God rather than men; and they determined to form the stations and accept the consequences.

Almost immediately, however, the hostility against missions that had long been smouldering broke out openly. A small meeting-house, or, as Ward calls it, "a bamboo shed," into which the natives might freely enter, had been erected in the Bow Bazaar, Calcutta, for preaching in the vernacular; and, to the great delight of the missionaries, crowds came to listen. At this juncture, two new missionaries, Chater and Robinson, reached Calcutta by an American vessel; and, as was the custom, reported themselves at the police-office. As some question arose about permitting them to go on to Serampore, Carey waited on two of the justices of the peace about the matter, Messrs. Blacquiere and Thoroton, when he was informed that it was the desire of the Governor-General that he and his colleagues should not interfere with the prejudices of the natives by preaching to them, instructing them, or distributing books or pamphlets among them; and that converted natives would not be allowed to go into the country to spread Christianity there. On learning that this communication had not

been made by the Governor in writing, Carey simply said they would conform as far as they conscientiously could, and then came away.

The missionaries were sorely perplexed. They saw that they were officially "denied the degree of protection and favour granted to the bloody worshippers of Juggernaut;" and the door seemed to be shut against Jesus Christ. As they had scrupulously abstained from intermeddling with politics, and as there seemed no political evil to be apprehended from the diffusion of the Gospel, they were quite at a loss to assign any adequate cause for the change that had taken place. They had to choose between open defiance of the Governor-General's wish, and yielding a little to the present storm, in hope that it might soon blow over. They chose this latter line of conduct, and waited. "Our hope is in God," Carey wrote. "The cause is His, and will never be deserted by Him; though He may permit temporary obstructions to arise." In the meanwhile they resolved upon sending brethren to try whether a mission could not be begun in Burmah.

The occasion of this stringency was the alarm created by the Vellore massacre, which had just taken place, in July, 1806. Vellore was a fortress about seventy miles from Madras, where, on the dethronement of Tippoo Sultan, the members of his family were pensioned and resided as prisoners of state. Suddenly, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, the sepoys rose on the European garrison, which consisted of four com-

panies of the sixty-ninth regiment, and massacred the commanding officer, together with thirteen other officers and ninety-nine men, with scarcely an attempt at resistance. Others afterwards died of their wounds. A small band maintained a desperate struggle on the ramparts till they were relieved by a body of troops from Arcot, when the mutineers in turn were attacked, and some hundreds of them slaughtered on the spot. This massacre takes its place among those ghastly tragedies represented by the Black Hole of Calcutta and the Mutiny of 1857, and the sensation it produced both in India and England was profound. While there were various contributing causes, such as the ambition of the dethroned family, resentment against British aggression, and a real or affected dread that Government designed to convert them to Christianity by force, the immediate occasion of the outbreak was simply a change in the head-dress of the native troops; a leather shako being substituted for the turban. Being of leather, it became the symbol of intentional outrage upon the susceptibilities both of Mahommedan and Hindoo. At the same time the caste-marks were removed from the soldier's forehead; his necklaces were forbidden; and he was ordered to shave. Among the causes or occasions of the mutiny there was not a tittle of evidence that the operations of the missionaries had any place; nevertheless, in the alarm that prevailed, "loose rumours" of the wildest sort got abroad both in India and England, the missionaries were made the scape-

goats, and the strongest assertions were freely hazarded that the missionary undertaking, if tolerated much longer, would inevitably result in rebellion and massacre.

It was while this alarm prevailed that the two new missionaries, Chater and Robinson, arrived. An order of Council was passed requiring them to return to Europe forthwith; and Captain Wickes, who had brought them, was refused a clearance for his ship unless he took them back with him. It was represented to Government that Captain Wickes had cleared out from Rotterdam for Serampore; and that the two missionaries whom he had brought were by this time under the protection of the Danish flag; all which was formally confirmed by letter from the Danish Governor. Captain Wickes then applied at the police-office for a clearance, and in conversation with the magistrates stated that, rather than oppose Government, the missionaries would give up the two brethren; and he added that, though it might be a serious affair both with America and Denmark if he and the missionaries were to be obstinate, yet they considered the peace and good understanding of nations to be a matter of such importance that they would give up almost anything rather than be the occasion of interrupting it. On this statement he was furnished with the necessary papers for his departure. It was evident, however, that the present was no time to think of extending the mission in Bengal; and consequently one of the newly-arrived brethren took up his residence at Seram-

pore, and the other was sent with a companion to Rangoon, in Burmah, where they were shortly afterwards joined by Felix Carey.

The course subsequently pursued by Felix caused his father poignant distress. The young man—he was only twenty-two—had abilities of a high order, particularly as a linguist; he had prosecuted the study of medicine with some success in Calcutta; he had been trained in missionary work under his father's eye; and he was full of the enthusiasm that burns for great enterprise. The situation he was called to occupy in Burmah was one of importance and promise. His father, who had objected to his going when it was first proposed, warned him earnestly that he "had nothing to fear so much as carnal reasonings," and urged him to steadfastness and energy. "Whenever I think of you relinquishing your post," he says, "I start from the idea with a kind of horror, as if I realized it to be a great crime. . . . It will be folly to suppose that you will have no conflicts. Flesh and blood will plead with you, and some friends may be weak enough to advise you to indulge your inclinations and desert the work of God. I fear a letter from my highly esteemed friend, Dr. Taylor, which I now send you, is of this complexion. Consider, however, that you are not your own. Say, '*Lord, here am I, send me,*' and be steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour will not be in vain in the Lord." Several years pass, when the father feels compelled to

say, "I fear the honours Felix has received from the Burmese Government have not been beneficial to his soul. If I am not mistaken, a disposition to feel complacency in worldly respectability has gained too much upon him. . . . It is a very distressing thing to be forced to apologise for those you love." Shortly afterwards he was summoned by the king of Ava, who had heard of the wonders of vaccination at Rangoon, to come to the capital and vaccinate the members of the royal family. On his way thither, with a supply of lymph, and a printing-press, the small brig which was to convey the party up the Irawaddy was overset in a sudden squall, his wife and two children were drowned, and everything was lost. The king received him well, notwithstanding the disappointment, and, some time after, ennobled him, and sent him to Calcutta as ambassador to the supreme Government to bring some pending negotiations to a close. His father, who was deeply pained by his sinking "from a missionary to an ambassador," anticipated his coming with dread: "I long to see him, but fear he has much declined in Divine things. He is coming in some official situation, for which I am sorry. Had Felix continued firm to his object and laboured for the spread of the Gospel, I could have met every distressing providence with confidence that all would work for good; but I am now at every step full of apprehension and anxiety." Having seen him, the father says, "He is in my opinion very much sunk. . . . He has withdrawn from all connection with the mission,

. . . and is absolutely shrivelled up as it regards Divine things." He was unsuccessful in the business on which he was sent; and rather than face the king, he threw himself among the wild tribes to the east of Bengal, where he passed through "a succession of adventures such as would be considered extravagant in a novel," and made his father feel, "Felix has forsaken the Lord." After many months of this kind of life, he was induced (in 1818) to return to Serampore, where his profound acquaintance with Eastern philology enabled him to render most valuable assistance to his father in the revision of his Bengali translations, as well as to do a considerable amount of independent work. He died in 1822, at the early age of six and thirty.

In illustration of the patient, plodding industry of Carey, a single day's engagements may be selected from his life about this time, as a specimen of the way in which he spent half the week. It is one of his days in Calcutta, and he is making an apology for not writing. "I rose this morning at a quarter before six, read a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and spent the time till seven in private addresses to God, and then attended family prayer with the servants in Bengali. While tea was getting ready, I read a little in Persian with a moonshi who was waiting when I left my bedroom; and also before breakfast a portion of the Scripture in Hindustani. The moment breakfast was over, sat down to the translation of the Ramayuna from Sanskrit, with a pundit, who was also waiting, and continued this trans-

lation till ten o'clock, at which hour I went to College and attended the duties there till between one and two o'clock. When I returned home, I examined a proof-sheet of the Bengali translation of Jeremiah, which took till dinner-time. I always, when down in Calcutta, dine at Mr. Rolt's, which is near. After dinner, translated, with the assistance of the chief pundit of the College, the greatest part of the eighth chapter of Matthew into Sanskrit. This employed me till six o'clock. After six, sat down with a Telinga pundit to learn that language. At seven I began to collect a few previous thoughts into the form of a sermon, and preached at half-past seven. About forty persons present, and among them one of the Puisne Judges of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut. After sermon I got a subscription from him of five hundred rupees (£63 10*s.*) towards erecting our new place of worship; he is an exceedingly friendly man. Preaching was over and the congregation gone by nine o'clock. I then sat down and translated the eleventh of Ezekiel into Bengali, and this lasted till near eleven; and now I sit down to write to you." If his letters are few, let his friends be assured that he does not forget them; but "the truth is, that every letter I write is at the expense of a chapter of the Bible, which would have been translated in that time."

CHAPTER VIII.

IN the beginning of 1807 his status in the Fort William College was raised. He had hitherto been "Teacher," he was now appointed "Professor" of Sanskrit and Bengali, to which Mahratta was added, though not specified in the official letter; and his salary was increased from five hundred to a thousand rupees a month. "This," he says, "*will much help the mission.*"

The same year the Senate of Brown University, in the United States, recognised his distinguished ability and worth, and the service he had rendered to the cause of the Gospel, by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Lord Cornwallis, who from 1786 to 1793 had united in his own person the powers of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, was appointed to succeed Lord Wellesley, but died two months after landing at Calcutta. The chief authority had devolved temporarily upon Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, till the arrival of Lord Minto in 1807. The first intelligence that met the new Governor-General, before he landed, was that of the Vellore massacre. On reaching

Calcutta he found the anti-missionary feeling very strong in Government circles. It had been intensified by an unfortunate Persian tract, printed at Serampore, which contained some irritating remarks on Mahommed and Mahommedanism. Dr. Carey was summoned to the office of the Chief Secretary at Calcutta, and, the Secretary of the Secret and Political Department being also present, a translation of the tract was produced and read. It was new to Carey; he could not defend the obnoxious expressions or offer any explanation; and could only give the assurance that the missionaries aimed to avoid everything that could stir animosity. He also indicated their willingness, should it be deemed necessary, to submit the publications of the Serampore press to Government inspection before they were circulated in the Company's territories.

He reported the matter immediately to his brethren, and asked for their explanation. In the meanwhile formal complaint was already made to Colonel Krefting, the new Danish Governor, with request (almost demand) for the suppression of the tract. When Colonel Krefting acquainted the missionaries with this communication, they frankly explained that the tract had been issued by an inadvertence for which they were sincerely sorry.[1]

[1] The tract was originally in Bengali, and in that language contained nothing really offensive. It was translated by a native into Persic, and was inadvertently passed through the press without examination by the missionaries. It turned out that the translator had introduced some strong and irritating expressions, such as calling Mahommed a tyrant.

They at once gave up all the copies in their possession, being almost the entire issue, and voluntarily pledged themselves not to re-issue it in any form. They also stated that in their view the use of irritating expressions was not only calculated to be offensive to Government, but was inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel itself. The officials in Calcutta, however, thought they had come upon a conspiracy that endangered the interests of society, and proceeded to employ informers who should discover the ramifications and extent of the evil. These informers reported everything they could discover that had a questionable or evil look; and on hearing their report, the Supreme Council recorded their conviction that tract distribution and preaching to the multitude were dangerous, and ought to be checked; and a letter to that effect was addressed to Carey by the Government Secretary. The letter stated that various other publications of the Serampore press had been submitted to Government, two of which contained abusive references to Mahommedanism; that preaching on topics of that nature was carried on in Calcutta under the responsibility of the missionaries; that both for the sake of public tranquillity and maintaining the public faith, it was the duty of Government to put a stop to such proceedings; hence the Governor in Council desired that the preaching in question should cease, prohibited all publications "of a nature offensive to the religious prejudices of the natives, or directed to the object of converting them to Christianity," and expected "that

the press be transferred to this Presidency, where alone the same control that is established over presses sanctioned by the Government can be duly exercised." No wonder that Carey exclaimed, "Never has such a letter been written by any Government before. Roman Catholics have persecuted other Christians under the name of heretics; but no Christian Government that I know of has ever prohibited attempts to spread the Gospel among the heathen."

Receipt of the letter was acknowledged; and then the missionaries gathered together for prayer and consultation. Though fully alive to the danger which threatened them,—Carey weeping like a child,—yet all felt a reliance on God such as they had scarcely ever experienced before. On the suggestion of Ward, it was agreed that Carey and Marshman should wait on Lord Minto personally, and explain to him their aims and the nature of their work. This was accordingly done. His lordship consented to receive an explanatory memorial from them, embodying what they had stated orally, previous to the meeting of Council. This memorial was prepared with great consideration by Marshman, and signed by them all. In the calmest and clearest manner the principles and objects of the mission were unfolded, and the fears of those who anticipated mischief to the State were answered; and thus Lord Minto was enabled to grasp the bearings of the case, from the missionary point of view, before he entered the council chamber.

The memorial was read in Council the day following, together with a letter from Colonel Krefting; and, on Lord Minto's suggestion, a resolution revoking the press order was passed, and only requiring that the authorities in Calcutta should be apprised of what the missionaries printed, as the productions of their press were designed for distribution within the British territories. In the letter acquainting the missionaries with this decision, the "rectitude of their intention" was frankly acknowledged. No restrictions whatever were laid on the circulation of the Scriptures. This was felt to be a "wonderful deliverance wrought for them by God." Their situation they regarded as now "perhaps better than it had been before"; and, as they honestly wished to avoid everything inflammatory, they considered themselves practically free. For this result they regarded themselves as deeply indebted, under God, to Colonel Krefting, who had shown himself their staunch friend throughout. As they had had recourse to prayer in the hour of their distress, they now set apart a day for thanksgiving to God, whose "right hand had saved them." Before midsummer they received permission to erect a chapel in Calcutta.

Besides troubles without, there were also troubles within. The younger missionaries who had come from England, some of them with a considerable spice of romance in their expectations, were unacquainted with the enormous difficulties and self-denials of the seniors, and felt the exercise of authority by them to be severe,

if not galling. They had strong faith in new blood and new methods; and they naturally enough wished that consideration should be given to their views. Perhaps, also, too much was expected from them in the way of involuntary self-denial. Hence friction and rasping. Such was the heat engendered that a reference had to be made to the home committee; and Fuller wrote out that if the opposition of the younger brethren continued, it might be necessary to recall them. It does not appear that Carey was betrayed into irritation. Gentle, considerate, and utterly free from personal ambition or self-seeking, he always saw the best side of every man.

While these difficulties were being experienced in India, a fierce conflict was raging at home. In Fuller's opinion there never was a controversy which drew a more marked line between those who feared God and those who feared Him not. The character and motives of the missionaries were disparaged; the fears of the public were appealed to, and it was asserted that so determined was the attachment both of Hindoo and Mahommedan to their religion, that, approach them but with argument, straightway they "grasped their daggers." Numbers, political influence, and loudness of noise, were against the missionary cause; to Fuller's eye it was "a kind of panorama view of the army of Xerxes and of the opposition of the three hundred Greeks at Thermopylæ"; nevertheless, he stoutly writes, "we will not fear them; we will play the man." Pamphlet after pamphlet issued from the press, with rejoinders and

re-rejoinders, and, in the vehemence of the struggle, the public mind was greatly agitated. [1]

A few extracts will sufficiently indicate the character of the assault on missions. The missionaries are represented as "illiterate, ignorant, and as enthusiastic as the wildest devotees among the Hindoos." "In the course of several years they have made about eighty converts, all from the lowest of the people, most of them beggars by profession, and others who had lost their castes. The whole of them were rescued from poverty, and procured a comfortable subsistence by their conversion." "Some of these converts have been expelled for gross immorality. Such, I am confident, would be the fate of the remainder, were not the missionaries afraid of being laughed at." "If ever the fatal day shall arrive when religious innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindustan to the other; and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe with

[1] The missionaries never lost heart. "Be not cast down on our account; the cause in which we are engaged is the cause of God, and must prevail. I think, however, that a petition to Parliament might be presented, praying respectfully for leave to settle missionaries, and for them to be allowed to pursue their labours among the natives, subject in all civil matters to the laws of the country. I doubt not but with a little exertion a million of signatures might be procured to such a petition; and I think the time to present it will be when the renewal of the Charter comes before Parliament. In the meantime, however, do not think that we are concealed or afraid to show ourselves, or to avow our work."—*Letter from Carey.*

as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind." "If the ingenuity of Buonaparte had been exercised in devising a plan which, with more certainty than any other, would destroy the British Empire in India, he would have recommended that very plan." "If India is deemed worth preserving, we should endeavour to regain the confidence of the people by the immediate recall of every missionary." To Fuller, this seemed like the application of the guillotine for the cure of headache.

"When wit is in the hands of a man . . . who loves honour, justice, decency, good nature, morality, and religion ten thousand times better than wit, wit is then a beautiful and delightful part of our nature." So wrote the Rev. Sidney Smith, the same man who, in an article of the *Edinburgh Review* (1808), delivered one of the most pitiless of all the attacks on the missionaries. He ridicules missionary ardour by saying that "if a tinker is a devout man, he infallibly sets off for the East." Extracts, some of them garbled, are made from the journals of the missionaries, and placed under mock-solemn headings, for the purpose of provoking ridicule. He does not hesitate to affirm that on their own subject the missionaries were "quite insane and ungovernable"; that they "would deliberately, piously, and conscientiously expose our whole Eastern empire to destruction for the sake of converting half a dozen Brahmins, who, after stuffing themselves with rum and rice, would run away, and cover the Gospel and its professors with every

species of impious ridicule and abuse." He sums up his argument thus: "We see not the slightest prospect of success; we see much danger in making the attempt; and we doubt if the conversion of the Hindoos would ever be more than nominal." Returning to the attack in 1809, and taking credit to himself for "routing out a nest of consecrated cobblers," he says: "Our charge is that they want sense, conduct, and sound religion; and that, if they are not watched, the throat of every European in India will be cut." As to complaint of intolerance made by the missionaries, "a weasel might as well complain of intolerance when he is throttled for sucking eggs." At the same time, "we are, as we always have been, sincere friends to the conversion of the Hindoos"; while those who were actually engaged in the work were included in the same category with "vermin that ought to be caught, cracked, and extirpated."

A single typical example from real life will sufficiently show what all this pitiless invective was about. A poor illiterate man, unable to read or write, with a conscience darkened and perverted by heathenism, comes to live at Serampore. He is an enthusiast in idolatry; his back is scarred all over from the hooks by which he has been so frequently suspended in swinging on the churuka; pieces of iron have been repeatedly run through his tongue; for many years he has wallowed in the most filthy vices. This man "hears the words of our Lord Jesus Christ" from a native convert, and is brought into

contact with the missionaries. After some time he is awakened to a deep sense of his sinfulness, and of the love of Christ in becoming his Saviour. He believes the message of mercy. Gaining the confidence of the brethren as a new creature in Christ Jesus, he is added to their number. He works in an inferior situation; he is fit for nothing better; but on all occasions he adorns the Gospel by a humble behaviour and a grateful sense of kindnesses. His life is henceforth clean and happy. At the close of all, he expresses his dying confidence in Christ; and, when unable to speak plainly, he lays his hand on his heart, and whispers, *He is here; He is here.* Did the scoffers—political men and "haughty priests"—think whither their poisoned arrows flew?

The discussions closed with an article from the pen of Southey, in the *Quarterly Review*, 1809, in which he glances over the history of missions to India, particularly of the Baptist Missionary Society, and examines the question whether the British government in India was exposed to any danger by its toleration of the missionaries; "for, as that fierce and fiery Calvinist, Andrew Fuller, most truly says, the question in dispute is *not* whether the natives of India shall continue to enjoy the most perfect toleration, but *whether that toleration shall be extended to the teachers of Christianity?*" Toward the close of the article he says: "These low-born and low-bred mechanics have translated the whole Bible into Bengali, and have by this time printed it. They are printing the New Testament in the Sanskrit, the Orissa,

Mahratta, Hindostan, and Guzarat, and translating it into Persic, Telinga, Karnata, Chinese, the language of the Sieks and of the Burmans; and in four of these languages they are going on with the Bible. Extraordinary as this is, it will appear more so when it is remembered that of these men one was originally a shoemaker, another a printer at Hull, and a third the master of a charity school at Bristol. Only fourteen years have elapsed since Thomas and Carey set foot in India, and in that time have these missionaries acquired this gift of tongues; in fourteen years these low-born, low-bred mechanics have done more towards spreading the knowledge of the Scriptures among the heathen than has been accomplished or even attempted by all the world besides. . . . From Government all that is asked is toleration for themselves and protection for their converts. The plan which they have laid down for their own proceedings is perfectly prudent and unexceptionable, and there is as little fear of their provoking martyrdom as there would be of their shrinking from it if the cause of God and man required the sacrifice." The result of these discussions was clear gain to the missionary enterprise.

Before the close of 1807 poor Mrs. Carey died of fever, having been under personal restraint for a period of twelve years. Her condition throughout the whole of these years was such as to preclude even those ideal pleasures which are sometimes enjoyed by the insane. During her last illness she was almost always asleep.

She was buried the day after her death in the missionary burying-ground.

The same year Serampore was occupied for the second time by British troops. They were not withdrawn till the peace of 1815.

Sanskrit is the parent-stock of nearly all the dialects spoken in Northern India. It is the one sacred language of Hindooism; and even Pali, the sacred language of Buddhism, is an offshoot from it. Sanskrit literature has proved to be infinitely richer in works of poetry, philosophy, law, religion, and all that is most highly prized by Hindoos, than was dreamed of in Carey's day, when the study was but in its infancy, and all the manuscripts were in the hands of Brahmins.

When it was a living language, it was "instinct with tenderness and power; a language equipped with the richest inflections and a whole phalanx of grammatical forms; one which clearly uttered whatever it was in man's lot to suffer, and whatever it was in his mind to conceive; and which from the beginning of recorded time stands forth in one form or other as the vehicle of his highest intellectual efforts."[1]

Recognising its vast importance, Carey began the study of this language at an early period of his residence in the country, and planned a Sanskrit version of the Bible, which he slowly executed as he was able. The New Testament was completed in 1808, and six hundred copies in quarto were issued from the press in 1809; the

[1] Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal.*

Pentateuch followed in 1811, the Historical Books in 1815, the Hagiographa in 1818, and the Prophetical Books in 1822. The work is now very rare. According to the testimony of those who know it, it can scarcely be pronounced satisfactory except in the way of a sturdy literalness. He saw clearly that though the Sanskrit Bible was of great importance, yet at the time it was but a "luxury" for the few; while the Bengali version was the "bread of life" for millions; and hence his first care had been to provide the latter. It need scarcely be added that, like all first attempts, the translations were far from being perfect.

The extensive interest felt in the various translations executed in Serampore, occasioned the throwing out of some disparaging insinuations against them, with hints that the Serampore brethren should stand aside and let better men take up the work. "This only proves," says Carey, "the truth of what Solomon observed, 'that for every good work a man is envied of his neighbour.' We do not want the vain name of *the men who translated the Scriptures into this or that language*, but we do want *the thing to be done*, and we have not yet seen the least probability of any one's doing it beside ourselves. We, however, wish every one to try and do all he can; this is no reason why we who began before them all should, to compliment them, throw away all which we have done."

In the summer of 1808, he married Charlotte Emelia Rhumohr, sister-in-law of the chevalier Wornstedt, chamberlain to the king of Denmark. She was about

his own age, richly endowed in mind, highly accomplished, with "a beautiful soul," and, above all, characterized by deep piety and thorough sympathy with the missionary enterprise. She had resided in Serampore for several years, and was well known to the missionaries, being indeed one of the converts. This union proved in all respects a happy one.

An extract or two from a small bundle of faded, worn, and yellow letters, written when she was on a tour for the restoration of her health, will give a glimpse of this happiness. With their quaint "thou" and "thee," these letters are full of tender, trustful, and thoughtful wifely affection.

"My dearest Love, I felt very much in parting with thee, and feel much in being so far from thee. . . . I am sure thou wilt be happy and thankful on account of my voice, which is daily getting better, and thy pleasure greatly adds to mine own."

"I hope you will not think I am writing too often; I rather trust you will be glad to hear of me. . . . Though my journey is very pleasant, and the good state of my health, the freshness of the air, and the variety of objects enliven my spirits, yet I cannot help longing for you. Pray, my Love, take care of your health that I may have the joy to find you well."

"I thank thee most affectionately, my dearest Love, for thy kind letter. Though the journey is very useful to me, I cannot help feeling much to be so distant from you, but I am much with you in my thoughts. . . .

The Lord be blessed for the kind protection He has given to His cause in a time of need. May He still protect and guide and bless His dear cause, and give us all hearts growing in love and zeal. . . . I felt very much affected in parting with thee. I see plainly it would not do to go far from you; my heart cleaves to you. I need not say (for I hope you know my heart is not insensible) how much I feel your kindness in not minding any expense for the recovery of my health. You will rejoice to hear me talk in my old way, and not in that whispering manner."

"I find so much pleasure in writing to you, my Love, that I cannot help doing it. I was nearly disconcerted by Mrs. ——— laughing at my writing so often; but then, I thought, I feel so much pleasure in receiving your letters that I may hope you do the same. I thank thee, my Love, for thy kind letter. I need not say that the serious part of it was welcome to me, and the more as I am deprived of all religious intercourse. . . . I shall greatly rejoice, my Love, in seeing thee again; but take care of your health that I may find you well. I need not say how much you are in my thoughts day and night."

For many years he had enjoyed vigorous and unbroken health, but in June, 1809, he was seized with an illness that brought him to the gates of death. The attack came on as he was returning from Calcutta. For the first two or three days he prescribed for himself; but the fever increased, and brought on delirium. A medical

man attached to the army came to visit him, in the absence of Dr. Darling, who had been called in. On principle he was strongly averse to war, and, in his delirium, "the sight of a red coat," he says, "filled me with abhorrence, and I treated him very roughly, and refused to touch his medicine. In vain did he retire and put on a black coat. I knew him, and was resolved. I believe this agitation of spirits did me much injury; but just then in came Dr. Darling, in whom I had the most implicit confidence, and who had hastened and come before his time. . . . For a few weeks together my life was in doubt. One or two days I was supposed to be dying. . . . On the day after I was taken ill, I put the finishing stroke to the translation of the Scriptures into the Bengali language, which some of my friends considered as the termination of my labours. Now I am raised up, I beg that I may be enabled to go on with more simplicity of heart, and more real despatch and utility, in the work of the Lord."[1]

In one of the first letters he wrote after recovering

[1] "In my delirium, greatest part of which I perfectly remember, I was busily employed in carrying a commission from God to all the princes and Governments in the world, requiring them instantly to abolish every political establishment of religion, and to sell the parish and other churches to the first body of Christians who would purchase them. Also to declare war infamous, to esteem all military officers as men who had sold themselves to destroy the human race, to extend this to all those dead men called heroes, defenders of their country, meritorious officers, etc. I was attended by angels in all my excursions, and was universally successful."

from this illness, he says: "The state of the world occupies my thoughts more and more—I mean as it relates to the spread of the Gospel. I was forcibly struck this morning with reading our Lord's reply to His disciples in the fourth of John. When He had told them that He had meat to eat that they knew not of, and that His meat was to do the will of His Father, and to finish His work, He said, 'Say ye not, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?' He by this plainly intended to call their attention to the conduct of men when harvest is approaching; for, that being the season on which all the hopes of men hang for temporal supplies, they provide men and take measures in time for securing it. Afterwards, directing their attention to that which so occupied His own as to be His meat and drink, He adds, 'Lift up your eyes, and look upon the fields' of souls to be gathered in, 'for they are white already to harvest.' After so many centuries have elapsed, and so many fields full of this harvest have been lost for want of labourers to gather it in, shall we not at last reflect seriously on our duty? Hindostan requires ten thousand ministers of the Gospel at the lowest calculation; China as many; and you may easily calculate for the rest of the world. England has done much; but not the hundredth part of what she is bound to do. Ought not every Church to turn its attention chiefly to the raising up and nurturing spiritual gifts, with the express design of sending them abroad? Should not this be a specific matter of prayer? And

is there not need to labour hard to infuse this spirit into the *Churches?*"

At the end of the tenth year, Mr. Ward sums up the visible results. In spite of enormous difficulties and hindrances, they had established mission stations in several parts of Bengal, at Patna, in Burmah, and on the borders of Bhotan and Orissa, each a "city set on an hill," a fortress held for God in the empire of darkness. The number of Church members in actual fellowship exceeded two hundred. They had a place of worship in Calcutta, erected at the cost of thousands of pounds, with a large Church and congregation occupying it. The Scriptures, in whole or part, had been translated and printed in six languages, and translations into six more were in progress. Numerous tracts and books tending to the advancement of the Gospel were being thrown off from the press. All this was visible result, while still more important was the invisible and spiritual which could not be tabulated. But even the visible results warranted the confidence with which Ward put the question: "Has not God completely refuted the notion that all attempts to disseminate the Gospel among the heathen are vain?"

What place did Carey claim among those who had been instrumental in bringing about these results? "I have been," he says, "witness to an astonishing train of circumstances, which have produced a new appearance of all things relating to the cause of God in these parts. The whole work, however, has been carried on by God

in so mysterious a manner that it would be difficult for any one person to fix on any particular circumstance, and say, 'I am the instrument by which this work has been accomplished.' At the same time, all has been done by the instrumentality of one or another, or, more properly speaking, by the instrumentality of all, so combined, compounded, and re-compounded, that distinct instrumentality can scarcely be perceived. We see the effect; each one rejoices in it; and yet no one can say how it has been wrought. I have often thought that the work must be obstructed by me, and that the God who aboundeth in all wisdom and prudence in the dispensations of His grace, could not give a blessing to the labours of such a one as I am, without deviating from that wisdom and prudence which He always observes. I have often been discouraged on account of that apparent want of every pre-requisite for publishing the Gospel, both natural and moral, of which I am undoubtedly the subject. . . . Reflections such as these have occasioned, and do still occasion, me much distress. Yet I do desire to give myself, such as I am, wholly to the cause of my God, and to be wholly engaged in His service. I do indeed plod on in my work, but without the life and spirit necessary to excite me to do it as a spiritual service to God."

Along with this lowly estimate of himself there was very high appreciation of others. "Marshman," he says, "is all eagerness for the work. Often have I seen him, when we have been walking together, eye a group of

persons, as a hawk looks on its prey, and go up to them with a resolution to try the utmost strength of Gospel reasons upon them. Often have I known him engage with such ardour in a dispute with men of lax conduct or deistical sentiments, and labour the point with them for hours together without fatigue, nay, more eager for the contest when he left off than when he began, as has filled me with shame. In point of zeal, he is Luther, and I am Erasmus. Brother Ward has such a facility of addressing spiritual things to the heart, and his thoughts run so naturally in that channel, that he fixes the minds of all who hear him on what he says; while I, after making repeated efforts, can scarcely get out a few dry sentences, and should I meet with a rebuff at the beginning, sit like a silly mute, and scarcely say anything at all." "I alone," he says to Ryland, "am unfit to be called a missionary, and often doubt whether I am a Christian."

CHAPTER IX.

BESIDES his multifarious labours in the translation of the Scriptures, he undertook to prepare the way for successors in the same work. Hence, by the beginning of 1812, he had published grammars of the Sanskrit, Bengali, and Mahratta languages, attending closely to peculiarities; he had in the press a grammar of the Telinga language, and another of that of the Sikhs; and he had commenced the Orissa. To these he intended to add others as he was able. He was busy at the same date passing through the press a Bengali dictionary, which ultimately extended to three quarto volumes; and was engaged in collecting materials for a dictionary of the Oriental languages derived from Sanskrit, with the corresponding words in Greek and Hebrew. All this work he designed for the sake of assisting future labourers in correcting and improving existing versions of Scripture, and executing new translations.

The 11th of March was one of his days in Calcutta. On that day he wrote a letter to his brother, in which he

says: "With respect to myself and family, I have the greatest reason to be thankful. I enjoy good health. I have a very affectionate and pious wife, whose mind is highly cultivated by education and extensive reading. Three of my sons are members of the Church, and two of them engaged in the work of the ministry. I have experienced the truth of what the Lord said, He that forsaketh any earthly good for My name and the Gospel shall receive a hundred-fold. But I have seen that which is of infinitely more importance than all temporal good: I have seen the word of God take root in this land, so that there are now belonging to this mission, or connected therewith, eleven Churches, and two or three more are on the eve of being formed. Some of these Churches are in an infant state, but there are others which have thirty, forty, seventy, and even a hundred and fifty members."

If these cheerful words were penned, the ink was scarcely dry, when a calamity befel the mission which threatened to put a stop to some of its most important operations for a long time to come. About six in the evening a fire broke out in the printing office at Serampore, which destroyed the labours of twelve years in a few hours. By midnight the roof fell in, and a great column of fire shot aloft to the sky, and continued for some time as steady as the flame of a candle. Within the blazing premises there were sets of types for fourteen Eastern languages; twelve hundred reams of paper; many copies of Scripture ready for distribution; and,

crowning all, many valuable manuscripts which no money could replace. The deeds of the premises and the records and accounts of the mission were rescued just in time by Mr. Ward, and the presses were safe in an adjoining office which the fire did not touch; but everything else that would burn or melt seemed to be destroyed. When all was over, the missionaries gathered in a group before the glowing ruins, and "a solemn serenity seemed to fill and strengthen every heart." Marshman went over to Calcutta in the morning to convey the tidings of the disaster to Carey, who was so stunned that for a time he could not utter a word. The day was vainly spent in inquiring for new types; and in the evening they returned sad at heart to Serampore.

On arriving, they found Ward busy clearing the ruins. To his great joy he found many of the punches and moulds used in making type uninjured. Wasting no time in lamentation, they set to work immediately to repair their losses. They utilized a warehouse of their own close by, which happened to be empty, as a new office. They dismissed their workmen for a month. They kept type-casters at work by relays day and night. The result was that within the month two languages were in the press, and at the end of six weeks four more were ready.

Carey gives a characteristic account of the disaster to Fuller. After enumerating the "merciful circumstances" which relieved the calamity, he states that though in his own department it would require twelve months' hard

labour to replace what had been consumed—in manuscripts particularly—yet, "as travelling a road the second time, however painful it may be, is usually done with greater ease and certainty than when we travel it for the first time, so I trust the work will lose nothing in real value, nor will it be much retarded by this distressing event; for we shall begin printing the moment the types are prepared. The ground must be laboured over again, but we are not discouraged; indeed, the work is already begun again in every language; we are cast down, but not in despair."

The calamity evoked much kindly feeling throughout the community, and generous aid was given by men of every class. Their warm friend, Mr. Thomason, of Calcutta, sent them £800, which he had collected within a few days; and when the news reached England, the Christian sympathy was so wide-spread and generous, that the whole of the money loss was made up within three months. Fuller writes them: "This fire has given your undertaking a celebrity which nothing else, it seems, could; a celebrity which, after all, makes me tremble. . . . The public is now giving us their praises; if we inhale this incense, will not the Lord be offended, and withdraw His blessing; and then where are we? . . . Only beware of flattery and applause. For now you may expect a tide of this to try you. You have stood your ground through evil report; may you stand it under good report. Many who have endured the first have failed in the last. . . . Expect to be

highly applauded, bitterly reproached, greatly envied, and much tried every way. Oh that having done all, you may stand!"

The Gospel work of the mission was not hindered by what had taken place. Krishnu-Pal, now a steady, zealous, well-informed, and even eloquent evangelist, preached on an average twelve or fourteen times every week in Calcutta and its environs; while Sebuk Ram, another native convert, preached nearly as often. "The number of inquirers (says Carey) constantly coming forward, awakened by their instrumentality among this poor and benighted people, fills me with joy. I do not know that I am of much use myself; but I see a work which fills my soul with thankfulness. Not having time to visit the people, I appropriate every Thursday evening to receiving the visits of inquirers. Seldom fewer than twenty come; and the simple confessions of their sinful state, the unvarnished declarations of their former ignorance, the expressions of trust in Christ and of gratitude to Him, with the accounts of their spiritual conflicts, often attended with tears which almost choke their utterance, present a scene of which you can scarcely form an adequate idea. At the same time, meetings for prayer and mutual edification are held every night in the week, and some nights, for convenience, at several places at the same time, so that the sacred leaven spreads its influence through the mass." A few weeks later he writes: "I have been now almost nineteen years in the work of the mission, and seem

as if I had but just gotten over the principal obstructions which blocked up the threshold of the door."

This same year the final struggle began which should determine whether the Gospel was to be allowed "free course" by the Government of India, or only permitted to exist on sufferance. The *Caravan*, an American ship, bringing Adoniram Judson and Samuel Newell, missionaries, with their wives, reached India on the 17th June, 1812. They were met and welcomed by Carey, who conducted them to Serampore. A fortnight afterwards, they were summoned to Calcutta, and ordered instantly to quit the country. The Newells sailed in a small vessel, which could convey only two passengers, for the Isle of France; Judson and his wife had to remain behind, finally compelled to leave in November. The result is well known: the very events which at the time appeared so gloomy were the providential means of determining that wonderful missionary career which marks Judson out as the apostle of Burmah.

The action of the Government officials at Calcutta evinced their determination to clear the country of missionaries, and keep the door shut in their faces; and Lord Minto, though personally tolerant and even liberal, fell in. Carey's opinion was that, to the official mind, the preaching of the Gospel stood in much the same light as committing an act of felony; and he saw no security against capricious action except by the modification of the Company's charter. Writing to

Fuller, he says: "The fault lies in the clause which gives the Company power to send home interlopers,"—that was the official term,—"and is just as reasonable as one which should forbid all the people in England, a select few excepted, to look at the moon. I hope this clause will be modified or expunged in the new charter. The prohibition is wrong; and nothing that is morally wrong can be politically right. . . . You must not attempt to send out any more missionaries without leave from the Court of Directors, for they will certainly be sent home."

The battle of religious freedom for India was now to be fought on English ground; and it soon became evident that the struggle between the friends and enemies of missions would be a life and death one. The time had come for renewing the Company's charter, making what changes in it might be demanded by changed conditions; and now was the crisis to secure liberty, if that were possible. The missionaries urged upon Fuller that, in concert with other societies, everything should be done to secure this liberty *by a distinct clause in the new charter.* He responded with his whole soul and strength, as did the leaders (and indeed privates also) of all the missionary bodies in the country. They stuck to two points—namely, unrestricted liberty for missionaries to go out to India, and security when there against being sent back without having been guilty of crime or misdemeanour; and they resolved not to *consent* to anything short of this, though they might accept

what they could get. It is unnecessary to detail the conferences that were held, and the efforts that were made to bring about a favourable issue: no legitimate means were left untried.

Among those on whom Fuller waited was Lord Castlereagh, ministerial leader in the House of Commons. His lordship's idea was, that a bishop and three archdeacons, with adequate provision for their maintenance, would serve the purpose; and so he indicated in his outlines of the proposed new charter submitted to Parliament in 1813. To him Fuller stated the case of the missionaries with calm and comprehensive mastery. After hearing him, Castlereagh remarked, "We shall probably give your missionaries liberty to proceed to India, where they may profess their own faith." "*That*," replied Fuller,[1] "is a degree of liberty which we can get any day at Constantinople. From a Christian Government we certainly expected more liberality." "But," rejoined Castlereagh, "the country in general seems to be indifferent on the subject of Indian missions. Whatever interest is manifested in them is confined to two or three missionary bodies." "If the decision of the question is to depend on the expression of public opinion," said Fuller, "your lordship will soon have an opportunity of judging to what extent we carry the sympathies of the nation with us." Fuller was right in the forecast he had made. For week

[1] A very realistic report credits him with the preface, uttered in his gruffest tone, "Thank you for nothing, my lord."

after week petitions poured in from all quarters in numbers absolutely unprecedented.[1] Some of the petitioners aimed at a State-establishment of religion in India; others (as advised by Fuller) prayed simply that the Gospel should have a fair field, deprecating all measures that involved force or Government influence. Long debates took place in the House of Commons, in which the missionary cause was most ably championed by Wilberforce; and things were said on the opposite side that can now be viewed only with half-incredulous amazement.

One thing all but postulated by the Anglo-Indians was that any attempt to evangelize the natives would cost us our empire—a view shared by the majority of the Court of Directors, the holders of India stock, and the press. The House of Commons, in the opinion of Wilberforce, was in the main adverse, and Government indifferent. Under such conditions was the battle to be fought. When the measure for renewal of the charter was introduced, it proved to be without any missionary clause; and the power of expelling interlopers was continued in the Company's hands. The Company demanded permission to adduce evidence at the bar of

[1] Fuller records: "I suppose there were seldom less than nine or ten petitions presented in a day. It was not a shower, but a set rain; and the adversaries of the mission had their patience worn out. One of them gave notice of a motion in favour of the *liberty* of the Hindoos! He waited a week or two in hope that these petitions would cease, but they kept on. He then postponed his motion a fortnight—still they kept on. At last he gave it up."

the House showing the dangerous nature of certain concessions contained in the measure, and the demand was acceded to. This gave the opportunity which the friends of missions desired; and the whole country became aroused to the importance of the measure in relation to the propagation of the Gospel.

The resolution which the friends of missions agreed to propose was, "That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement; that in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs."

This resolution was certainly cautious enough. When it was brought forward, Wilberforce supported it in a speech which even on the slave question he had never surpassed. "In truth, Sir," he took occasion to say, "these Anabaptist missionaries, as, among other low epithets bestowed on them, they have been contemptuously termed, are entitled to our highest respect and admiration. One of them, Dr. Carey, was originally in one of the lowest stations of society; but under all the disadvantages of such a situation, he had the genius, as well as benevolence, to devise the plan which has since been pursued of forming a Society for communicating

the blessings of Christian light to the natives of India, and his first care was to qualify himself to act a distinguished part in that truly noble enterprise. He resolutely applied himself to the diligent study of the learned languages; after making a considerable proficiency in them, he applied himself to several of the Oriental tongues, more especially to that which I understand is regarded as the parent of them all, the Sanskrit; in which last his proficiency is acknowledged to be greater than that of Sir William Jones himself, or any other European. Of several of these languages he has already published grammars, of one or two of them a dictionary, and he has in contemplation still greater enterprises. All this time, Sir, he is labouring indefatigably as a missionary, with a warmth of zeal only equalled by that with which he prosecutes his literary labours. Another of these Anabaptist missionaries, Mr. Marshman, has established a seminary for the cultivation of the Chinese language, which he has studied with a success scarcely inferior to that of Dr. Carey in the Sanskrit. It is a merit of a more vulgar sort—but to those who are blind to their moral and even their literary excellencies, it may perhaps afford an estimate of value better suited to their principles and habits of calculation—that these men, and Mr. Ward also, another of the missionaries, acquiring from £1,000 to £1,500 per annum each, by the various exercise of their talents, throw the whole into the common stock of the mission, which they thus support by their contributions only less

effectually than by their researches and labours of a higher order. Such, Sir, are the exertions, such the merits, such the success, of these great and good men, for so I shall not hesitate to term them."

When the final vote was taken, the bill, as amended, was carried by a decided majority, and the door of India was set open to the Gospel—yet subject to two evils; namely, having to obtain a licence of the Directors or (failing them) the Board of Control; and the missionaries being liable to be removed without any specific charge being alleged against them, except what was sent home to Government.

CHAPTER X.

ANDREW FULLER, the strong man who had so faithfully "held the ropes" for the missionaries ever since the formation of the Society, died on the 7th of May, 1815. It was Lord's Day morning, and the congregation had met for worship in the chapel, adjoining the chamber where he lay. Overhearing the singing, he said to his daughter Sarah, "I wish I had strength enough." "To do what, father?" "To worship, child," he replied; adding, after a pause, "My eyes are dim." An hour after, he was at rest.

He was a man "of stern integrity and native grandeur of mind," with an eye that saw through the most complicated question with wonderful sureness, a massive understanding, a judgment that was never swayed by prejudice, and the most undaunted resolution. Few men have ever given nobler example of the supremacy of conscience. For more than twenty years, in addition to labours which would have taxed the strength of any ordinary man, he had devoted his energies, physical and mental, to the cause of the mission, and had guided it through difficulties of the most formidable nature with

rare courage and sagacity. The last service he rendered was in connection with the fierce parliamentary struggle which issued in the securing of an open door for the Gospel into India. Ere he died he had the satisfaction of seeing that the labour expended was not in vain. The missionaries had baptized nearly seven hundred native converts; their schools had given instruction to ten thousand heathen children; they had preached the Gospel far and wide in the land; translations of the Bible were going forward in twenty-seven languages; and already the reign of darkness was giving signs of being broken. Truly, as he wrote to Carey, "the spark which God stirred you up to strike has kindled a great fire."

In a letter in which Carey mentions having heard of Fuller's death, these pregnant words occur: "Considering the extensive countries opened to us in the East, I entreat, I implore our dear brethren in England not to think of the petty shop-keeping plan of lessening the number of stations so as to bring the support of them within the bounds of their present income, but to bend all their attention and exertions to the great object of increasing their finances, to meet the pressing demand that Divine Providence makes on them. If your objects are large, the public will contribute to their support; if you contract them, their liberality will immediately contract itself proportionably."

In place of such wishes being realized, and the work going forward harmoniously and pleasantly, years of

trouble were impending. In the change of the Society's management consequent on the death of Fuller, misunderstandings almost immediately set in, particularly with respect to the Serampore property, and the power of direction and control. All things considered, this was scarcely to be wondered at; but it must be added that the exercise of frankness, patience, and a just and conciliatory temper on both sides, ought to have obviated all danger of schism.

As time passed on, however, the misunderstandings increased, and became embittered; evil surmises developed into certainties; it was assumed that the senior brethren were self-willed and overbearing; it was first whispered and then affirmed that they were making large fortunes for themselves out of their position; and instead of calmly waiting information and explanation from Serampore, somewhat hurried action was taken to prevent the alienation of the property from the Society.[1] In the correspondence and discussions that followed, things were said and written on both sides which it is now wise to forget, or to leave in the oblivion into which they have sunk. The senior missionaries were conscious of uprightness in secular affairs; they knew

[1] The first paragraph in Carey's *Will* runs: "I utterly disclaim all or any right or title to the premises at Serampore, called the Mission Premises, and every part and parcel thereof; and do hereby declare that I never had, or supposed myself to have, any such right or title." This paragraph owes its existence to the unworthy suspicion above indicated.

that, so far from making gain of their position, they had practised the severest self-denial, and had already spontaneously given many thousands of pounds earned by their own toil, to the great cause to which they had consecrated their lives; it is not therefore wonderful that they should have repelled insinuations against their disinterestedness with a measure of indignant warmth. Assured also that instead of the London committee being able to guide them, they were better able to guide the committee, they resisted—perhaps resented—what they deemed the exercise of dictatorship, that would have deprived them of their independence and turned them into mere servants obeying orders.[1] On the other hand, it must be granted that the committee, though comprehending not a few noble and true-hearted men, were too ready to give ear to suspicions, and over-estimated the weight of their own judgment as compared with the experience and judgment of the senior brethren. Thus it happened that Serampore came to be regarded by the committee as a "rebellious station;" and for years it seemed "as if they were playing a game of chess against it." The committee's view will be found stated at full length, and dispassionately, in the annual report for 1827.

[1] "The Society assumed the character and tone of Lords. Brother Dyer's letters are all official, resembling those of a Secretary of State. I can write brotherly, affectionate letters, but not official ones; and therefore the Society must expect no communication from me. To you I will write my whole heart."—*Carey to Ryland.*

Another trouble was in progress at the same time. The hard discipline to which the senior missionaries had subjected themselves was naturally enough irksome to the younger brethren who joined them. It was one thing voluntarily to undertake the severe mode of life pursued at Serampore, and another thing to have it imposed upon them without choice. Hence jealousies and alienations sprang up between the younger and the elder, and became aggravated as time passed on, till they came to be almost beyond bearing.

Ten years of increasing tension in their relations issued, in 1827, in the separation of Serampore from the Baptist Missionary Society—a separation which was not healed during Carey's lifetime. The Society then established a mission of its own in Calcutta, with branches in various parts of India, taking over with consent several of the Serampore stations. During these long troubles, however painful and even heart-breaking, Carey's personal uprightness and godly sincerity were not assailed even by those who entertained diametrically opposed views; and, on the other hand, though he disapproved much of their action and something of their spirit, and felt some things keenly, his affection for the younger brethren continued: "I believe," he says, "we sincerely love one another."

The conviction gained ground in the minds of the missionaries, that if India was to be won and held for Christ, it must be through native preaching. Hence they deemed it of primary importance to provide the

means of training Christian converts in Christian knowledge, that they might be able to take part in the great enterprise of evangelization. Men like Krishnu-Pal were fitted to be of great use among their countrymen; but it was manifest that a higher Christian education was necessary if native preaching was to be made fully efficient. The outcome of this view was the establishment of Serampore College for the instruction of native Christians and other youths in Eastern literature and European science. Convinced by experience that both the most economical and the surest method of flooding India with Divine light was that of employing native converts, they put the question, *Shall these men be sent forth to the work without receiving any previous instruction?* and to this question, they conceived, there could be only one reply. It was with the view of affording such instruction that the College was instituted. After long and patient consideration by the missionaries, the prospectus was drawn up. It proceeded on the assumption that the complete evangelization of India was to be accomplished by natives. It indicated the intention of its founders that the College should not stand by itself, but in living connection with the mission stations, near and remote; the students being drawn from these stations, and, when educated, going forth to be teachers, evangelists, missionaries, and pastors, as the Lord might appoint. It also implied that a purely "theological" training was objectionable, inasmuch as it tended to produce professionalism and contracted

views; hence they planned to let in light from every quarter. They hoped thus to secure men who should be able to deal with religious questions under a full comprehension of Indian ways of thinking and feeling. It seemed to them that what was required was not to translate European books into Eastern tongues, or to clothe European ideas in an Eastern dress, but to raise up men loyal in heart to Jesus Christ, who should build the truths of revelation into an edifice answering to the genius of the East.

While the College, as they projected it, was designed to train native teachers and preachers, yet all who chose to enter as students, whatever their religion or caste, would be made welcome, subject to the College regulations, conscience being in all cases respected. Had it been possible at the time, it might have been better to make Calcutta the seat of the institution. Serampore is now like a stranded ship; while Calcutta is the metropolis, the seat of government, law, and justice, the emporium of commerce, and the intellectual centre, from which every chord that is struck vibrates to the extremities of the empire. At the time, however, the best was done that was possible. It was arranged that the Danish governor and the three senior missionaries should have the management in the first instance. The plans were submitted to the Danish Government, and King Frederick IV. gave them his approval, and presented a large house and grounds in Serampore, the rents of which should go to the support of the institution.

The measures for establishing the College were in progress when Ward visited England in 1819. There he endeavoured to obtain assistance, but speedily discovered, to his dismay, that little was to be expected, so strongly did the current run against Serampore. He wrote out to this effect. Nothing daunted, Carey and his coadjutors made their appeal in India itself, where they were best known; and by patient and vigorous effort, though all but overwhelmed with other cares, they succeeded in rearing a noble edifice at a final cost of about £15,000. This College was the first of its kind in India, and its institution marks a "new departure" in the work of evangelization. "The Bishop's College" opposite Calcutta, and the educational machinery created by Dr. Duff, both derived valuable suggestions from it. The fruit expected from its establishment was a supply of well-qualified native missionaries.

It was not till 1827 that the College charter was granted. Ten years' time was allowed for the formation of its statutes; and such as should be authorized by the three senior missionaries, or the survivors of them, were to be enrolled in the Danish Court of Chancery as the permanent statutes of the College. The principles which Carey deemed essential were the following: That no oaths be administered to any member of the College, but that a recorded promise should be sufficient in all cases; that marriage be no bar to office; that of the five members of Council one may always be of

another denomination beside the Baptist; that no caste, colour, country, or mode of belief be a bar to any one becoming a student; that faith in the truths of Christianity be deemed essential to the eligibility of any teacher in the College; that a public account of the College procedure be annually given; that any degrees conferred should be free of charge to the receiver; that any friend to learning and Christianity in India should be at liberty to found a professorship in the College; and that the number of professors and students should be regulated according to the providence of God.

Throughout all these years Carey's immense labours for the advancement of the Gospel were going steadily on. But it was not possible to sustain the strain of work, the many anxieties that pressed upon him, and the influence of the climate, for so many years, without having a heavy penalty to pay. In the beginning of 1821, the old man—for he was now sixty—was suddenly seized with a fever which threatened his life, and which considerably diminished his working power. Just about the crisis of the fever came a letter from the king, who, after acting for many years as regent, had lately ascended the throne. In this letter he assured the missionaries of his continued interest both in themselves and in their labours. He had previously offered them a Danish "order," that of the Dannebrog, which they had respectfully declined, as unsuited to their position and character; the letter now sent was accompanied with

a gold medal for each of them, to express approbation of their work.

Soon after recovering from the attack of fever, he was called to suffer one of the sorest trials of his life, in the death of his accomplished and devoted wife, who had been the partner of his joys and sorrows for thirteen years. She was suddenly seized with an epileptic fit; attack followed attack in rapid succession; and in four days she passed away, apparently without pain, May 30th, 1821. In one of his letters, referring to her death, he says: "If there ever was a true Christian, she was one;" and in another: "She was eminently pious, and lived near to God. The Bible was her daily delight; and, next to God, she lived for me. Her solicitude for my happiness was incessant; and so certainly could she at all times interpret my looks, that any attempt to conceal anxiety or distress of mind would have been vain. It was her constant habit to compare every verse of Scripture she read in the German, French, Italian, and English versions, and never to pass by a difficulty till it was cleared up. In this respect she was of eminent service to me in the translation of the Word of God. . . . So many and merciful circumstances attend this very heavy affliction as still yield me support beyond anything I ever felt in former trials. I have no domestic strife to reflect on, and add bitterness to affliction. She was ready to depart. She had long lived on the borders of the heavenly land, and I think had latterly become more and more heavenly

in her thoughts and conversation. She suffered no long and painful affliction. She was removed before me, a thing for which we had frequently expressed our wishes to each other; for though I am sure my brethren and my children would have done the utmost in their power to alleviate her affliction, if they had survived me, yet no one, nor all united, could have supplied the place of a husband." "She watched every change in my countenance," he says in another letter, "with the utmost solicitude, and often was full of anxiety if she perceived the least sign of weariness, illness, grief, or distress. Often has she come to me and requested me to forgive her anything in which she had unwittingly offended me. She certainly had no occasion for such a request, but her heart was exceedingly tender upon that point. My loss is irreparable, but her gain is infinite."

These thirteen years were perhaps the happiest of Carey's life—made happy in no small measure through her fellowship. In many respects a singularly gifted woman, she was wonderfully adapted to her position as the wife of such a man in such a place as Serampore. Though for long unable to move much from her room, and carried downstairs twice a day in her husband's arms for exercise in her Bath-chair, the brightness and intelligence of her mind lighted up his home with continual sunshine. She was a universal favourite; the "mixture of patrician polish and Christian simplicity in her deportment" captivating all who knew her.

Carey's family consisted of a daughter named Ann, who died at Piddington in her second year; Felix; William; Peter, who died at Mudnabatty, aged six; Lucy, who died at Leicester in her second year; Jabez, born just before the family set out for India; and Jonathan, born at Mudnabatty. The career of Felix has been already referred to; William and Jabez both entered the mission field; Jonathan took to law in Calcutta.

Nearly one hundred letters, almost all of considerable length, addressed to Jabez by his father, have been preserved. They form an extremely interesting series, and throw much light on Carey's family life, as well as his profound and unchanging interest in the mission. His children are very dear to him; he never ceases to pray for them; he counsels them with the fidelity of a man who fears God, and with "the affection of a parent who loves them very tenderly"; his highest ambition for them is that they may belong to the Saviour, and may serve Him truly; he acquaints them with all the little incidents and doings in and around Serampore that might be expected to prove interesting, as well as with the more important events that bore on the progress of the Gospel. There is scarcely a letter in which he does not express his solicitude that his son may "live near to God," adorning the Gospel by his life, and counting no sacrifice too great for the advancement of it.

A few extracts from these letters will sufficiently indicate the tone of the whole:—"Supposing you to

have now entered upon your labours [at Amboyna], I feel a more than ordinary concern that you may glorify the Gospel of Christ in all things. I therefore, with the affection of a father, entreat you to walk closely with God, and to cultivate diligently every grace of the Holy Spirit. Every one, however carnal or wicked he may be, expects you to be holy; and should the men of the world see you carnal or conformed to the world, they will be disappointed in you, and will not fail to repeat it to your disadvantage and to the discredit of religion. I do not say this because I have any suspicion of you; but I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy, and not only desire that you may be saved at last, but may glorify the Gospel of God in all things."

"Watch against the temptation to gossip with Europeans. Show them every respect, but always consider that your chief duty lies among the Malays. Never forget that you are now a Christian minister. . . . Above all things, my dear Jabez, live near to God, and avoid conformity to the European world. Where you are, you have much to fear from that quarter, . . . but walk as with God before your eyes, and all things will in time become more easy, difficulties will vanish, and blessings will attend you."

"I cannot let slip this opportunity of assuring you how much you lie upon my heart. I follow you with my prayers, not only for your personal support under all trials, but for your abounding in all the graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit, and for your being furnished by the

grace of God for that very important work that lies before you. You will need zeal, prudence, tenderness of conscience, perseverance, and firmness at almost every step. The Lord, who has opened this important door for you in His providence, is able to supply all your wants out of the riches of His glory in Christ Jesus, and to make you the instrument of evangelizing the countries to which you are now going, and which are enveloped in the grossest darkness. Go forth, my dear Jabez, in His strength; make mention of His righteousness, and of His only; and leave it with Him to choose your lot. It is of little importance whether we are poor or rich, admitted to the society of great men of this world, or frowned upon by them. If God give us a work to do, fit us for it, and support us in it, that is sufficient."

"I have never yet touched the very delicate subject of E——'s excessive love of finery, and her tawdry appearance. I would write to her about it if I did not despair of doing good thereby. . . . She will be respected a thousand times more dressed in a Thhassa gown than in gaudy things more fitted for an actress than the wife of a Gospel minister. . . . Consider that no one expects you to keep a house or table like the civil or military officers of Government. You would not be respected for it were you to attempt it; but every one expects an appearance in your house, your dress, and other things, resembling that of a humble follower of our Lord. I have long wished to write you on this head,

for I was greatly distressed about it when you were here, and my conscience is not clear till I have seriously entreated you to apply a remedy to that evil. Your honour is as dear to me as my own. . . . As a parent who loves you most tenderly, I feel all these things very keenly; but were I to say nothing . . . I should be a partaker of the evil. I often, with much deep distress, pour out my supplications for you to God."

After referring to obstructions laid in the way of his son's preaching the Gospel, he says: "Your last letter contains a formal relinquishment of the work of God, and must therefore be considered as a step chosen by yourself, and not forced on you by external circumstances. So far as relates to men, you are at full liberty to relinquish any line of life and to adopt another; but surely you cannot suppose that any of our determinations can set us free from the obligations we owe to God. The Scripture says explicitly, 'Ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body and spirit, which are God's.' The whole parable of the talents is founded upon the same truth; viz., that we and all we have belong to God, and that He expects us to improve all our opportunities and advantages for the promotion of His cause. . . . It therefore appears plain to me that none of us can throw off our obligations to the service of God, and that even the engaging in His service is not a merely optional thing, but that every person is under indispensable

obligation to serve God in promoting His work to the utmost of his ability and opportunity. God does not require the employment of greater abilities than He bestows, but He does require the employment and improvement of those which He gives, whether it be five, two, or one talent; and we can no more withdraw our abilities, however slender, from His service, with impunity, than he who had but one talent could safely hide his in the earth or wrap it in a napkin. . . . If you could not bear the reproaches of your conscience because you neglected the work of God, how will you bear the reproaches of your conscience for forcibly withdrawing from it? This step, my dear Jabez, cannot be vindicated. Your duty was to strengthen the things that remained and were ready to die, to be zealous, and to work while it is day."

"Your interest, both spiritual and temporal, my dear Jabez, lies very near to my heart, and is seldom forgotten in my prayers; but most of all I am anxious about your spiritual state. Without spiritual prosperity, all worldly prosperity will be useless and tasteless; but if we live near to God, that circumstance will give a genuine relish to all outward blessings, and even in the absence of them will furnish us with genuine enjoyments such as will make us triumph in the midst of earthly disappointments and troubles." These lines were penned just after a season of severe bodily pain, and while the prospects of Serampore were overhung with dark clouds.

CHAPTER XI.

AS already mentioned, Carey's fondness for natural history began to show itself during his boyhood at Paulerspury. The ground connected with the school-house he turned into a botanical garden on a small scale, in which he cultivated his favourite plants and flowers, obtained from neighbours and friends or gathered wild in the district. No spot where anything would grow was left unoccupied. Hackleton, Piddington, Moulton, and Leicester in turn nurtured the same tastes, and enlarged his knowledge.

In India, while the mission held the supreme place in his regard, and absorbed both his time and strength, the inborn love of nature asserted itself even in his busiest and most burdened years. At Mudnabatty, lonely and with a thousand discouragements, he had his garden, kept in order by several "malis," to which he was in the habit of withdrawing that he might muse and pray, and where he never failed to find solace in his hours of despondency. In writing to friends in England, he refers again and again to the delight and refreshment he found

in natural history; and "no part of that pleasing study," he remarks, "is so familiar to me as the vegetable kingdom." On settling at Serampore, two acres of ground were made over to him (afterwards increased to five) to form a botanical garden, which from the outset he began to store with all that was choice in tropical botany, and in which, too, he attempted to naturalize the products of other climes. The first potatoes ever seen in Bengal were planted by him. He cultivated the vine with such success that grapes of his producing were thought not unworthy of being presented to the Governor-General himself. He attempted also to naturalize the English oak, but could not rear it to the height of more than six or eight inches. A fine group of mahogany trees of his planting still attracts the notice of visitors.

Sometimes, in his letters home, he begs his friends to send him seeds or plants. Thus to his sisters: "Do send a few tulips, daffodils, snowdrops, lilies, and seeds of other kinds. You need not be at any expense; any friend will supply those things. The cowslips and daisies of your field would be great treasures here." Again: "Were you to give a penny a day to some boy to gather seeds of cowslips, violets, daisies, crowfoots, and to dig up the roots of bluebells, after they have done flowering, you might fill me a box every quarter of a year; and surely some neighbours would send a few snowdrops, crocuses, and other trifles. All your weeds, even nettles and thistles, are taken the greatest care of by me out here." One reads in this and like requests not the

mere love of flowers, but love of home—just as in Bishop Heber's lines, when after speaking of the wonderful beauty of a Bengal scene, he adds:

> "Yet who in Indian bowers has stood
> But thought on England's good greenwood,
> And blessed, beneath the palmy shade,
> Her hazel and her hawthorn glade,
> And breathed a prayer (how oft in vain!)
> To gaze upon her oaks again?"

The garden at Serampore was gradually enriched with all of choice and rare that he could gather, till it became the finest in India, containing three thousand species of plants. A band of gardeners was kept in constant employment, and when he was at home he spent part of every day overseeing and directing. As at Mudnabatty, his garden was his place of meditation and prayer; and there, as if it were an Eden, he heard the voice of the Lord God in the cool of the day. To disturb bed or border was to touch the apple of his eye; nor could he suffer a rose or a sprig of any kind to be torn from its stem. Amidst his numerous and exhausting labours, preaching, teaching, translating, "pursued by printers as hounds pursue a deer," working his hardest to get copy ready for them or to correct their proof, and notwithstanding his strong repugnance to letter-writing, he found time to correspond with scientific botanists both in Europe and America on special subjects. In return for contributions from them, he supplied his correspondents with rare collections from the East. Part of his recrea-

tion was to describe the birds, the quadrupeds, and a few of the insects of Bengal; but his delight was botany. Two trees and an herb in Indian botany bear his name, the *Careya arborea* or saul-tree, the *Careya spherica*, and the *Careya herbacea*.

When Dr. Roxburgh, Keeper of the Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, returned to his native country, he recommended that the keys should be entrusted to Dr. Carey as the most competent man he knew to have charge. In 1812 Carey edited Roxburgh's *Hortus Bengalensis*, a scientific catalogue of the plants in the Company's Garden; and in 1821–24 he published Roxburgh's other manuscripts in two volumes under the title of *Flora Indica*, and a new edition in three volumes in 1832. This was regarded as a standard work with botanists.

The breadth of his view was shown in various schemes which he either devised or promoted for the welfare of India. Among these may be specified the Savings Bank established on the English model in 1820, designed to encourage thrift and independence of spirit, particularly among the native converts and adherents. Its very success, however, led to its discontinuance in connection with the mission, as due attention to it was found to interfere seriously with the prosecution of still more important labours.

About the same time the first steam-engine ever seen in India was introduced into the works at Serampore. It was a small one, of only twelve horse power, made in

England for their paper-mill; and it excited much curiosity, not only in the neighbourhood, but among men of a scientific bent at a distance, who came to examine its mechanism and working. To the natives it was known as the "fire-machine"; and many of them counted it "a fire-child of the devil." It is still preserved at Serampore—like "Puffing Billy" at South Kensington.

After lengthened experience and observation he arrived at the conclusion that much might be done for the welfare of India by improved agriculture, better fencing, better implements of husbandry, and the introduction of useful cereals and plants.[1] The cultivation of the soil was carried on in the most wretched manner; the cultivators were miserably poor and ignorant; the landowners wrung all they possibly could out of them, and left them for the most part without the inspiration of hope. It appeared to Carey that if an Agricultural Society could be formed for India, it would show the proprietors of the soil that their interest lay not in rack-renting the peasantry, but in developing the resources of the country, and might besides be a preparation for the time when men should beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. His idea was heartily approved by Lady Hastings, wife of the Governor-General, and afterwards

[1] The first paper in vol. x. of the "*Asiatic Researches*" is from Carey's pen. It evinces the interest he felt in the physical prosperity of the country, and the completeness of his acquaintance with the state of agriculture and the agricultural population.

by Lord Hastings himself; and accordingly he issued a prospectus dated "Mission House, Serampore, 15th April, 1820," in which he set forth his views in a homely and exceedingly common-sense style. This prospectus he circulated as extensively as possible throughout the country. A meeting of persons favourable to the scheme was called for the 14th of September in Calcutta, when only three besides himself and Dr. Marshman attended, none of them natives. With the old, undespairing resolution which had been tested so often, they constituted the Society then and there, naming it the Agricultural Society of India. Within a couple of months, about fifty members, some of them wealthy natives, were enrolled, Lord Hastings consenting to be patron. The expectations of the founders have been largely realized, both in the improved social condition of the peasantry and in the enlightenment of the great landowners.

Although he never meant to return to England, and frequently spoke of his determination to live and die in India, he never ceased to regard his native country with deep affection. One little incident, as touching in its way as that of Mungo Park and the tuft of moss, may be cited as an illustration. Among some English earth, in which other seeds had been conveyed to him, there sprang up, to his intense delight, an English daisy, such as he had known by thousands on his native village-green. He watched and tended the humble exotic with the most loving interest, and perpetuated it from season to season in his garden as an annual. He writes to the

friend (Mr. Cooper, chief gardener to Lord Milton?) who had sent him the package: "That I might be sure not to lose any part of your valuable present, I shook the bag over a patch of earth in a shady place; on visiting which, a few days afterwards, I found springing up, to my inexpressible delight, a *bellis perennis* of our English pastures. I know not that I ever enjoyed, since leaving Europe, a simple pleasure so exquisite as the sight of this English daisy afforded me, not having seen one for thirty years, and never expecting to see one again."[1]

[1] James Montgomery, seizing upon this incident, puts these well-known verses into Carey's lips—as Cowper does with Alexander Selkirk:

"Thrice welcome, little English flower!
My mother-country's white and red;
In rose or lily, till this hour,
Never to me such beauty spread:
Transplanted from thy island-bed,
A treasure in a grain of earth,
Strange, as a spirit from the dead,
Thine embryo sprang to birth.

. . . . . .

Thrice welcome, little English flower!
Of early scenes beloved by me,
While happy in my father's bower,
Thou shalt the blithe memorial be.
The fairy sports of infancy,
Youth's golden age and manhood's prime,
Home, country, kindred, friends—with thee
Are mine in this far clime.

. . . . . .

Thrice welcome, little English flower!
To me the pledge of hope unseen;

In the weakness of his last days, it distressed him that he was unable to wander in his garden as he had been in the habit of doing; so they wheeled him thither in a garden chair. When too weak even for this, he would send for the principal gardener to his room to converse with him about the plants; and near his couch, against the wall, he placed the picture of a beautiful shrub, upon which he gazed with delight. One day, during his last illness, when he was unusually depressed, Dr. Marshman asked him the cause. "Ah, Brother Marshman," he replied, "I was thinking that when I die, you will let the cows into my garden." Marshman endeavoured afterwards to carry out his dying friend's wishes by means of a small endowment sufficient to keep three gardeners busy. Mr. Urwick, who visited Serampore lately, reports, however, that the garden is now jungle, and has been sold for business purposes. Hullodhur, who entered Carey's service as a gardener when quite a boy, and whom he taught the Latin name of every favourite, is still alive (1881), though very old.

"When sorrow would my soul o'erpower,
For joys that were or might have been,
I'd call to mind how, fresh and green,
I saw thee waking from the dust;
Then turn to heaven with brow serene,
And place in God my trust."

CHAPTER XII.

IN 1821 Ward returned to India, taking with him John Mack, a young Scotsman of three and twenty, for the chair of philosophy and chemistry in Serampore College. No choice, as the issue proved, could have been better. He was a man of the rare order, whose character, spirit, abilities, and attainments all command respect. A nature originally vehement and passionate had been brought under the domination of grace, till the "resolution of the old covenanters" came to be blended in him with the gentleness of Christ. His strong intellect was disciplined and informed; his judgment was singularly trustworthy; his eloquence commanding. The assistance he rendered to the work of Serampore was of the highest order. He was spared to devote his great abilities for three and twenty years to the benefit of India. On his death in the beginning of 1846, the Serampore establishment was transferred to the Baptist Missionary Society, Serampore itself having passed the previous year from Danish to British rule.

Carey had now warnings of approaching old age; he

was occasionally ill; his life was "solitary and melancholy;" so in the course of the year 1822 he married Mrs. Hughes, a widow of forty-five. Though she possessed none of the accomplishments and mental endowments of his late wife, she was a woman of genuine Christian principle, and proved most attentive in ministering to his comfort. Amidst the increasing infirmities of age he could not have had a more kindly and careful nurse. An incident which shows the character of the man happened in connection with the marriage. The day was fixed, guests invited, and all necessary arrangements made, when, three or four days prior to the time, it turned out that it would be necessary for him to obtain a licence, which would have necessitated his taking an oath. He had conscientious objections to do so, and, as his affirmation could not be received, he applied to have the banns published, and postponed the marriage for three weeks.

Next year, 1823, the Serampore triumvirate was broken by the death of Ward, the youngest of the band, at the age of fifty-three. On Wednesday, the 5th of March, he appeared in excellent health, but next day was seized with cholera of a virulent type. Two doctors were immediately called in, and all means employed to save a life that was felt to be so valuable; but in vain. By noon on the Friday his pulse began to sink, and by five in the afternoon all was over. The sorrow of Carey and Marshman was overpowering. For three and twenty years there had been unbroken harmony

among them, and now the suddenness of the blow almost stunned the two survivors. That evening Marshman wrote: "This is to us the most awful and tremendous stroke, and I have no way left but that of looking upward for help," and a little later on: "I have lost the desire to live, except for the Redeemer's cause." The blow fell as heavily on Carey, though he said less.

What added to the trouble, was the pecuniary embarrassment in which they were at the time involved. They had struggled and hoped to save Serampore "from ultimate dishonour," and at last "to have the satisfaction of lying down in the grave free from debt, and all fear of thereby dishonouring the cause that is dearer to us than life;" and now it seemed as though the struggle had been useless, and the hope were finally blasted. But just in the hour of need, the British and Foreign Bible Society came forward very generously to their aid, and through the timely help thus rendered they were extricated from their immediate difficulties, and enabled to proceed hopefully with their work once more. Mr. Mack proved to be a most valuable and sympathetic coadjutor, and his cheerful resolution did not a little to brace the courage of the two old men.[1]

One dark October night in 1823, when returning late to Serampore after preaching in Calcutta, Carey slipped

[1] In those sorrowful days, and still darker days that followed, there was one hymn which they sang so frequently at worship that

in getting out of the boat, and was severely injured by the fall. He suffered excruciating pain for ten days; violent fever followed; and for a time his life was despaired of. Slowly he recovered, but was obliged to use crutches for half a year. It was touching to see the old man absorbed with his work long before he could walk across the room without aid. From the shock to his system he never fully recovered; and though he went on with his work of translation and revision, he found it necessary to contract the circle of his labours on a few of the more important dialects, particularly the Bengali, in order to bring them nearer perfection.

The unhappy differences with the Society at home gradually became more and more painful till the formal separation took place; and, even then, the most serious charges continued to be made till all arrangements as to property were completed. It was openly asserted that the senior missionaries lived in "Oriental pomp," that they had "amassed extensive property, and thereby enriched themselves and families, while they had been unmindful of the great cause to which they originally devoted themselves;" and their conduct was pro-

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it came to be known as "the chant of the Serampore missionaries." There is not much poetry in it, but its spirit is grand: it is the hymn beginning :—

"O Lord our God, arise,
The cause of truth maintain;
And wide o'er all the peopled earth
Extend her blessèd reign."

nounced "consistent neither with truth nor common honesty." The charges made and believed in England found their way to America; and Dr. Staughton,[1] who was a trustee for certain funds intended for Serampore College, declined, on behalf of himself and his co-trustees, to transmit any money till an assurance was given that it would not be appropriated to the teaching of science, and still less to family aggrandizement, but solely to the preparation of native converts for the ministry of the Gospel. With reference to the teaching of science, Carey in reply asked, "Do you in America train up youths for the Christian ministry without any knowledge of science?" And as to family aggrandizement, he goes on: "Where is the family elevation you speak of? If it be real, it can be discerned; but where is it? Dr. Marshman is as poor as I am, and I can scarcely lay by a sum monthly to relieve three or four indigent relatives in Europe. I might have had large possessions; but I have given my all, except what I ate, drank, and wore, to the cause of missions; and Dr. Marshman has done the same; and so did Mr. Ward." With this reply, Dr. Staughton and his co-trustees were left to act as they judged right.

[1] Dr. Staughton was descendant of a Baptist minister, who was imprisoned in Northampton jail three years and a half at the time when Bunyan was imprisoned at Bedford.

[2] The following is a statement, from the books of the mission, of the sums expended by the Serampore missionaries for various purposes, from the outset to 1826. With the exception of £10,795,

The trial which resulted from the misunderstandings with the Society at home was aggravated by the failure of Calcutta merchants to the extent of two millions of pounds, and a consequent draining of resources from which supplies for the work had come. To make matters worse, the Burmese war proved so expensive, that in 1830, for economic reasons, Government abolished the professorships in Fort William College, and thereby at once reduced Carey's income by £600 a year; and, shortly after, they also abolished the office of translator to Government, from which he had derived an income of £360 a year. His only regret at this reduction of income was that it limited the missionary operations, to which everything beyond necessary expenses had been devoted. Under such an accumula-

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the whole had been contributed by the missionaries themselves. Subsequent to 1826 they added many thousands.

	£
Purchase of premises, which they vested in the Society	3,050
Repairing, enlarging, and repelling river encroachments	9,500
Expenditure for twenty years, including support of various stations, printing tracts, etc. ...	18,385
Expended on European missionaries from 1805-1812	6,378
Erection of college buildings, and library of four thousand vols.	15,400
Subscription to native schools (3 years)	900
For Lall Bazaar Chapel	2,000
For printing six versions of New Testament ...	3,000
	£58,613

tion of troubles, the spirit of many a man might have been crushed; but he retained his calmness and serenity. "The good man," says Marshman, "about to enter on his seventieth year, is as cheerful and as happy as the day is long; he rides out four or five miles every morning, returning home by sunrise, goes on with the work of translation from day to day, gives two lectures on divinity and one on natural history every week in the College, and takes his turn of preaching both in Bengali and in English." The circumstances and needs of the mission were laid before Christian friends in England in a special appeal, which was followed soon after by pamphlets, one of them written by Carey, vindicating the integrity of the missionaries. The result was that money flowed in to meet all present requirements, and the work at all the stations went on. "With respect to myself," Carey writes, in acknowledgment of the supplies from England, "I consider my race as nearly run. The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and I am now only three months short of that age, and repeated bilious attacks have weakened my constitution. But I do not look forward to death with any painful anticipations. . . . How shall we sufficiently praise and glorify God, who, in the time of our great extremity, appeared and stirred up His people thus willingly to offer their substance to His cause? My heart goes especially to those faithful and constant friends who have stood by us and defended us when our integrity was called in question, when our veracity was doubted, our motives

misrepresented, our characters traduced." After much delay and many painful words spoken and written, a final arrangement was concluded respecting the Serampore property, and Carey hoped "that this troublesome affair will be brought to a close, and that calumny may cease, and our hoary heads go down to the grave in peace." Throughout this whole sad period the missionary energy of Serampore had been unabated, and never had the missionaries exhibited a nobler example of Christian fortitude and patient continuance in well-doing.

The year 1829 is memorable in Indian annals for the abolition of suttee. One of the dreadful scenes witnessed by Carey, and described in one of his letters, in the earlier part of his missionary life, was the burning of a widow with the corpse of her husband. The horror of the scene never faded from his mind. During Lord Wellesley's tenure of office, he had given in a careful report on the subject, showing the number of these religious suicides during the preceding six months within a radius of thirty miles from Calcutta, amounting to one hundred and sixteen,[1] and demonstrating that, although the rite was certainly countenanced, yet it was not prescribed by Hindoo canon law. Wellesley's departure from India interrupted his plans; and his suc-

[1] The previous year the number had been two hundred and seventy-six. One was a girl eleven years of age. It was calculated that, from 1756 to 1829, seventy thousand women had been burned alive within the British dominions.

cessors in rule left the evil untouched for more than a quarter of a century, to the time of Lord William Bentinck, who, immediately on his arrival, took the question up. Calmly and deliberately, but with unswerving purpose, Lord William held on, till in December, 1829, a regulation was passed prohibiting suttee throughout Bengal. The practice was declared to be criminal, and every person aiding and abetting was to be deemed guilty of homicide. It was thought advisable that the original and the translation should be issued simultaneously and at once; and the regulation was accordingly sent to Carey to be translated into Bengali. It was the day of rest when the order reached him, and he was just preparing for morning service. Throwing off his quaint black coat, he exclaimed: "No church for me to-day. If I delay an hour to translate and publish this, many a widow's life may be sacrificed." Summoning his pundit, and leaving the pulpit to be occupied by another, he completed the translation before night. It was an hour for which he and his colleagues had pleaded and prayed for one-third of a century. For the first time during two thousand years,

"The Ganges flowed unblooded to the sea."

A very vivid glimpse of Carey about this time is given in the "Life of Dr. Alexander Duff." Duff came to India in 1830, just over four and twenty years of age, tall and handsome, with flashing eye, quivering voice, and restless gesticulation. He immediately set himself to ascer-

tain facts relative to missionary enterprise in the country, and for this purpose visited every missionary and every mission station, school, and chapel, in and around Calcutta, spending hours in noting both people and preaching. He arrived at two conclusions: first, that Calcutta must be his mission centre; and second, that his method of working must be different from that of all his predecessors. With a single exception, all the missionaries opposed his conclusions. The exception was Carey, whom he did not call upon till the very last. The interview is thus described by Dr. Smith: "Landing at the College ghaut one sweltering July day, the still ruddy Highlander strode up to the flight of steps that leads to the finest modern building in Asia. Turning to the left, he sought the study of Carey in the house —'built for angels,' said one, so simple is it—where the greatest of missionary scholars was still working for India. There he beheld what seemed to be a little yellow old man in a white jacket, who tottered up to the visitor of whom he had already often heard, and with outstretched hands solemnly blessed him. A contemporary soon after wrote thus of the childlike saint:

> 'Thou'rt in our heart—with tresses thin and grey,
> And eye that knew the Book of life so well,
> And brow serene, as thou wert wont to stray
> Amidst thy flowers—like Adam ere he fell.'

"The result of the conference was a double blessing; for Carey could speak with the influence at once of a scholar who had created the best College at that time in

the country, and of a vernacularist who had preached to the people for half a century. The young Scotsman left his presence with the approval of the one authority whose opinion was best worth having."

The work of the mission had of late been prosecuted with ardour and hopefulness; but in the opening of 1833 new disaster smote them. On the 3rd of January one of the great Calcutta houses suspended payment, with obligations exceeding £3,000,000; and this disaster was followed by crash after crash of falling firms, till £16,000,000 were buried in their ruins. The catastrophe affected every interest throughout the Presidency. The Serampore mission suffered most of all, a large part of its funds being invested with bankrupt houses. In this extremity one generous-hearted friend, Mr. Garrett, stepped forward and supplied immediate needs; and when the state of matters became known in England, friends there again met the emergency, so that Serampore was saved, with its sixteen stations and forty-seven labourers. In the darkest hour the old man held fast the conviction that every event was "under the management of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all in earth and all in heaven;" and so he "fully expected the accomplishment of all the promises."

A few extracts from letters written during these closing years will show the man as he was in his old age.

Speaking of the illness that followed his fall in landing from the boat, when he was brought so near to death, he says: "I had no joys, nor any fear of death, or reluc-

tance to die; but never was I so sensibly convinced of the value of an atoning Saviour as then. I could only say, 'Hangs my helpless soul on Thee,' and adopt the language of Psalm li. 1, 2, which I desired might be the text for my funeral sermon. Through the gracious providence of God, I am again restored to my work, and daily do a little as my strength will permit. . . . There are now many of other denominations employed in missions, and I rejoice to say that all are workers together."

On hearing of the death of Dr. Ryland, he writes: "There are now in England very few ministers with whom I was acquainted. Fuller, Sutcliff, Pearce, Fawcett, and Ryland, besides many others whom I knew, are gone to glory. My family connections also, those excepted who were children when I left England, or have since that time been born, are all gone, two sisters only excepted. Wherever I look in England, I see a vast blank; and were I ever to revisit that dear country, I should have an entirely new set of friendships to form. I, however, never intended to return to England when I left it, and unless something very unexpected were to take place, I certainly shall not do it. I am fully convinced I should meet with many who would show me the utmost kindness in their power; but my heart is wedded to India; and though I am of little use, I feel a pleasure in doing the little I can, and a very high interest in the spiritual good of this vast country, by whose instrumentality soever it is promoted."

He writes to his sisters on June 5th, 1830: "For the last year and a half I have had a succession of attacks of fever, which have greatly reduced me. . . . I frequently thought that the time of my departure was at hand; and I believe, so far as I am able to judge, I did cast my eternal interests on the mercy of God, through our Lord Jesus. I felt that He had made a full atonement by the sacrifice which He offered up; and that, eternal life being promised to every one who believes in Him, I might look forward with humble expectation to the time when all who are accepted in the Beloved shall be declared pardoned, justified, and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light."

To his son Jabez, in a letter "intended to be principally an affectionate birth-day remembrance," he says: "I am this day seventy years old; a monument of Divine mercy and goodness; though, on a review of my life, I find much, very much, for which I ought to be humbled in the dust. My direct and positive sins are innumerable; my negligence in the Lord's work has been great; I have not promoted His cause nor sought His glory and honour as I ought. Notwithstanding all this, I am spared till now, and am still retained in His work. I trust for acceptance with Him to the blood of Christ alone; and I trust I am received into the Divine favour through Him. I wish to be more entirely devoted to His service, more completely sanctified, and more habitually exercising all the Christian graces and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness to the praise and honour

of that Saviour who gave His life a sacrifice for sin. Through the goodness of God, I am now quite well; but I have, within the last three months, had five or six severe attacks of fever, which have greatly weakened me; indeed, I consider the time of my departure to be near; but the time I leave with God. I trust I am ready to die, through the grace of my Lord Jesus; and I look forward to the full enjoyment of the society of holy men and angels, and the full vision of God, for evermore."

Nearly two years later he writes to the same son: "My mind is tranquil. I think I never had a greater sense of my sinfulness, and of the evil nature of all my sins, than I have had for some time past; but I see the atoning sacrifice of Christ to be full and complete, to have been accepted of God, and to be a ground for the bestowment of all spiritual blessings; and I trust I do daily and continually trust in Christ for acceptance into the Divine favour, for pardon and justification and the entire renovation of my nature."

He was so far strengthened as to be able, at the monthly prayer meeting, forty years after being devoted to mission service, to deliver an interesting address to the assembled friends, encouraging them to persevere in their work. He referred particularly to the atonement of Christ as the basis on which all hope of success must be grounded; to the guilty, depraved, and wretched condition in which the world was still lying, so loudly demanding redoubled exertion; to the promises of God,

which not only include a supply of all the instruments and means necessary for carrying on the work, but also that influence from on high which can alone secure success; and concluded by exhorting them not to be discouraged by difficulties and disappointments, which indeed were to be expected, but could all, by the blessing of God, be overcome.

The last letter he wrote home was to his sisters, and runs thus:

"SERAMPORE,
Sept. 25th, 1833.

"MY DEAR SISTERS:

"My being able to write to you now is quite unexpected by me, and, I believe, by every one else;[1] but it appears to be the will of God that I should continue a little time longer. How long that may be I leave entirely with Him, and can only say, 'All the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come.' I was, two months or more ago, reduced to such a state of weakness that it appeared as if my mind was extinguished; and my weakness of body, and sense of extreme fatigue and exhaustion, were such that I could scarcely speak, and it appeared that death would be no more felt than the removing from one chair to another. I am now able to sit and to lie on my couch, and now and then to read a proof-sheet of the Scriptures. I am

[1] In his previous letter to them, two months before, he had bidden them "Adieu, till I meet you in a better world."

too weak to walk more than just across the house, nor can I stand even a few minutes without support. I have every comfort that kind friends can yield, and feel, generally, a tranquil mind. I trust the great point is settled, and I am ready to depart; but the time when, I leave with God.

"*Oct. 3rd.* I am not worse than when I began this letter.

"I am, your very affectionate brother,

"WM. CAREY."

He had continued to labour on at his desk till his strength was spent, and the weary brain could not command the fingers; and now, when no longer able to totter out into his beloved garden, he was wheeled thither in a garden-chair. His mind continued perfectly tranquil: it "was everything to him that *the Gospel is true*." In his extreme weakness, when his thoughts wandered, he unconsciously exhibited the simplicity and guileless sincerity which had characterized his whole career. All classes of the community, whether native or European, manifested an affectionate interest in his condition. Lady Bentinck, wife of the Governor-General, visited him repeatedly; Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, came to ask his parting blessing; the native Christians never forgot to pray for him. By slow degrees life ebbed away, till it could only be said that he breathed.

Among those who visited him in his last illness was Alexander Duff, the Scotch missionary. On one of the

last occasions on which he saw him—if not the very last—he spent some time talking chiefly about Carey's missionary life, till at length the dying man whispered, *Pray.* Duff knelt down and prayed, and then said Good-bye. As he passed from the room, he thought he heard a feeble voice pronouncing his name, and, turning, he found that he was recalled. He stept back accordingly, and this is what he heard, spoken with a gracious solemnity: "Mr. Duff, you have been speaking about Dr. Carey, Dr. Carey; when I am gone, say nothing about Dr. Carey,—speak about Dr. Carey's *Saviour.*" Duff went away rebuked and awed, with a lesson in his heart that he never forgot.

Brief flashes of revival would occur at intervals, when his strength seemed to return. Thus when news came of the bill introduced into Parliament for the emancipation of the West India slaves, his heart filled, and with tears in his eyes he blessed God, and proposed that special thanks should be offered in all their meetings.

A month or two later—not more than eight-and-forty hours before his death—letters arrived from England, telling of the fresh interest that was felt in the mission, of the prayerful spirit that was awakened, and of the willing and liberal offerings that were being brought. Mr. Mack communicated the news to him gently and by degrees, as wine is given to dying lips; and the exhausted strength seemed to revive, and his eye beamed with gratitude for the goodness thus manifested to the cause he loved. Mr. Leechman saw him shortly after, and re-

lates how the feeble old man lifted his trembling hands to heaven, and faintly breathed out his thankful joy. The last chord that vibrated in his heart was gratitude to God and His people for the favour shown to India. Soon after, his mind began to wander, but this was still uppermost even in his incoherent thoughts.

The eternal gates were opened for him at sunrise on June 9th, 1834. About eighteen hours before, Marshman, his aged brother and companion in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, knelt and prayed with a full heart beside his couch, blessing God for the goodness of more than forty years; and when he concluded, Mrs. Carey asked, "Do you know who is praying with you?" "Yes, I do," the dying man whispered, and pressed his beloved brother's hand. Thus they parted "at eventide," to be divided only for a little season. Before Marshman's return, he had passed within the veil.

He was buried early the following morning in the mission burying-ground, where the dust of nearly three generations of native converts now reposes. There followed him to the grave his brother missionaries, the native Christians, men and women, the Danish Governor and his wife, and the members of Council, besides many representative men from Calcutta. Lady Bentinck, wife of the Governor-General, gazed across the river from Barrackpore. As the procession moved slowly along, the road was lined with a throng of natives, Mussulman and Hindoo, while the Danish flag was

hoisted half-mast high. On arrival at the grave, they united in singing the resurrection hymn, beginning:

> "Why do we mourn departed friends?
> Why shake at death's alarms?
> 'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends
> To call them to His arms."

Marshman then delivered an address, in which he briefly told what God had done in bringing Dr. Carey to India, enabling him to accomplish so great a work, preserving him during so many years, and at last crowning his long and laborious life with so peaceful and blessed an issue. After prayer by Mr. Robinson, the dust was committed to its kindred dust, with mingled tears and joy, "in the sure and certain hope of a blessed resurrection and a glorious immortality." The service was very solemn; and as they went away, no man spoke a word.

On the following Lord's Day, Dr. Marshman preached the funeral sermon, in the Danish Church, from the text "By grace are ye saved;" and on the Monday evening, in the chapel of the native Christian village, Johnnuggur, they sang the Bengali hymn, "*Pæritran Kristêr morone*," "Salvation by the death of Christ;" Pran Krishnu, the oldest disciple, prayed; and Mack spoke to the weeping company from Carey's Bengali translation of the words, "For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep."

The grave is to the left of the entrance gate into the native Christian burial-ground. It is marked by a tall,

square block, supported by pillars at each corner, and domed. In his will he directed that this inscription, "and nothing more," should be cut in it:

WILLIAM CAREY,

BORN AUGUST 17, 1761,

DIED [JUNE 9, 1834].

"A wretched, poor, and helpless worm,
On Thy kind arms I fall."

It is not necessary to add more: with the blessed dead he rests from his labours and his works do follow him, until the "promised hour" of the Redeemer's triumph,

"When at His feet shall lie
All rule, authority, and power,
Beneath the ample sky."

Scriptures 83.

99

110

120+

137

149

150

159